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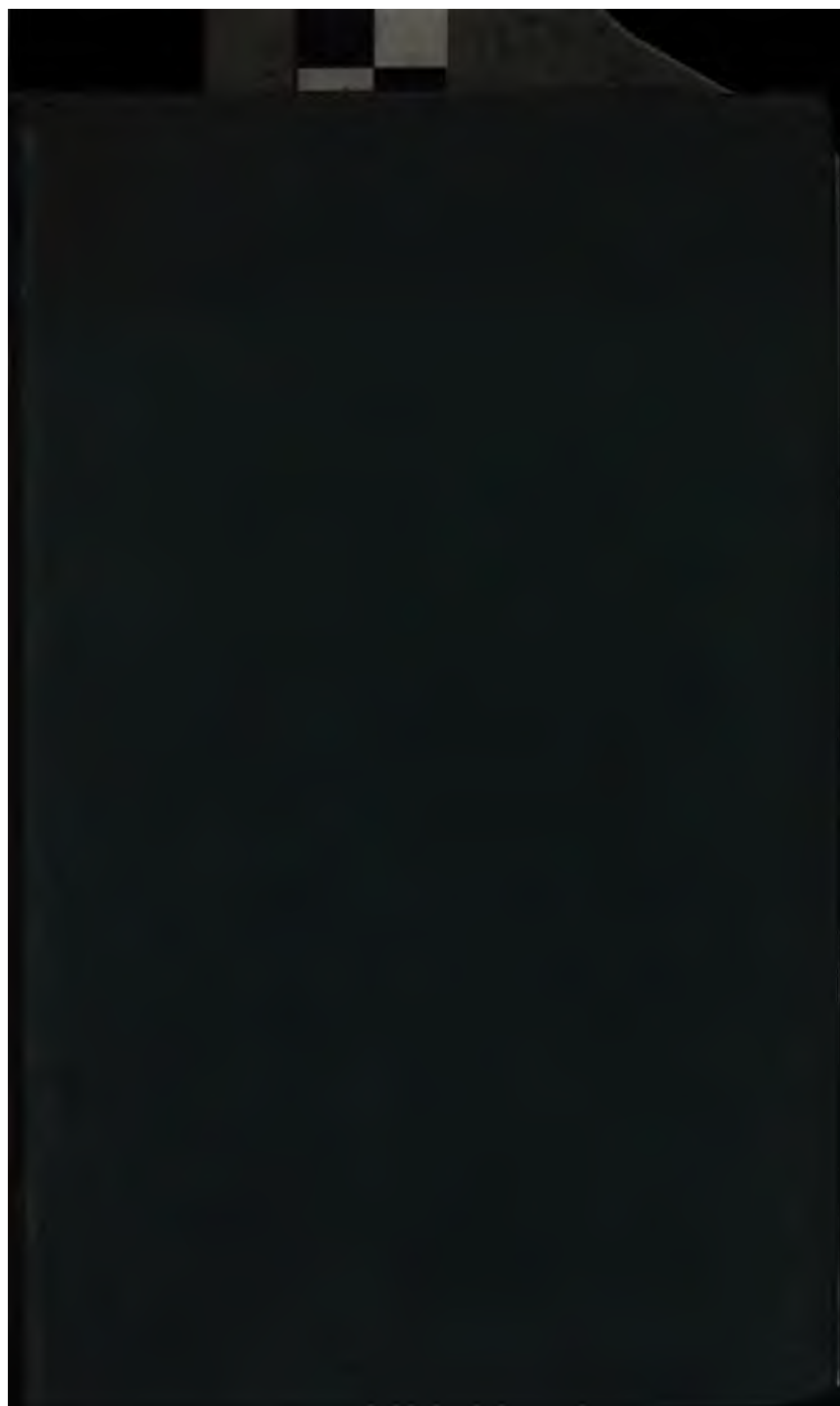
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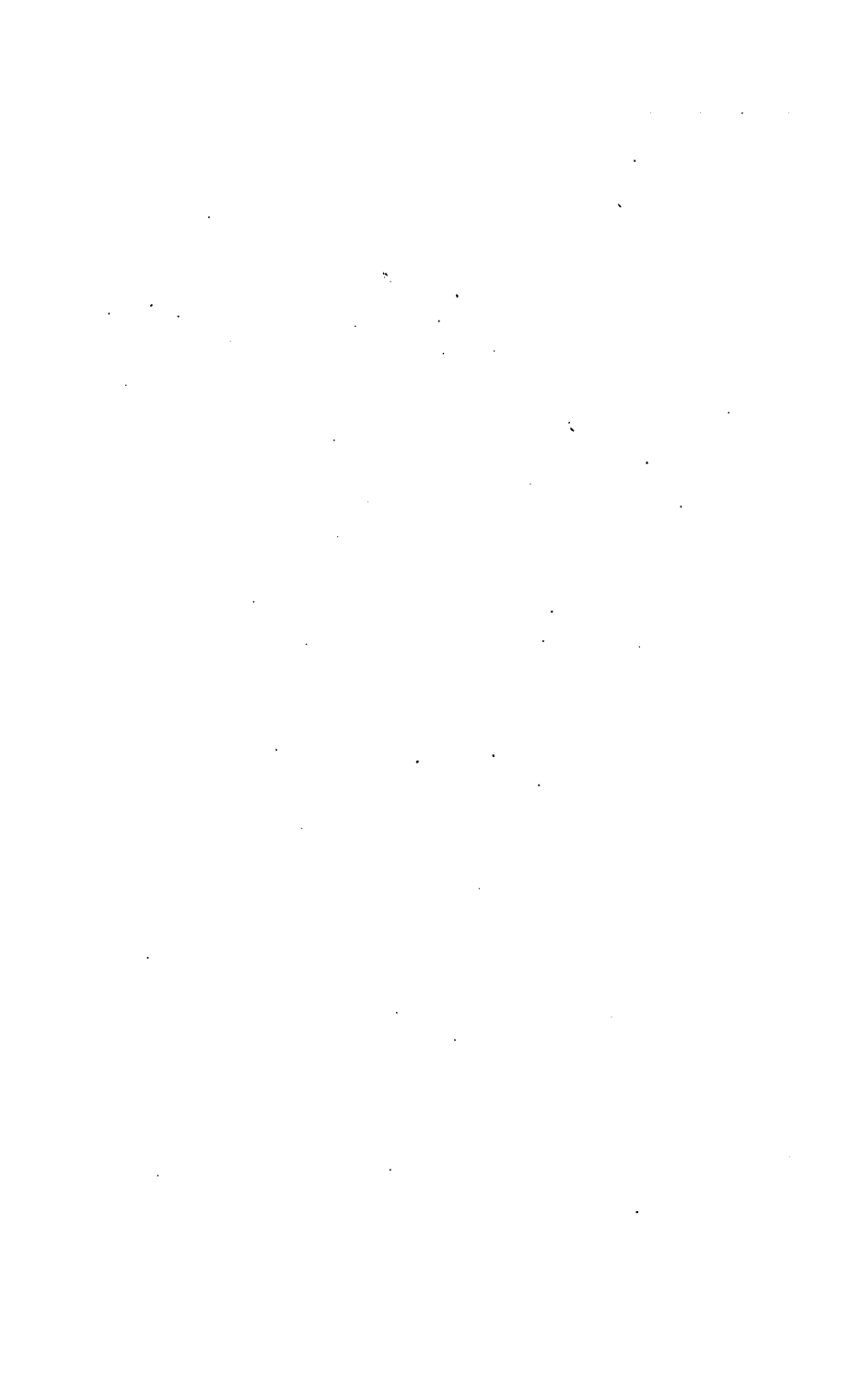
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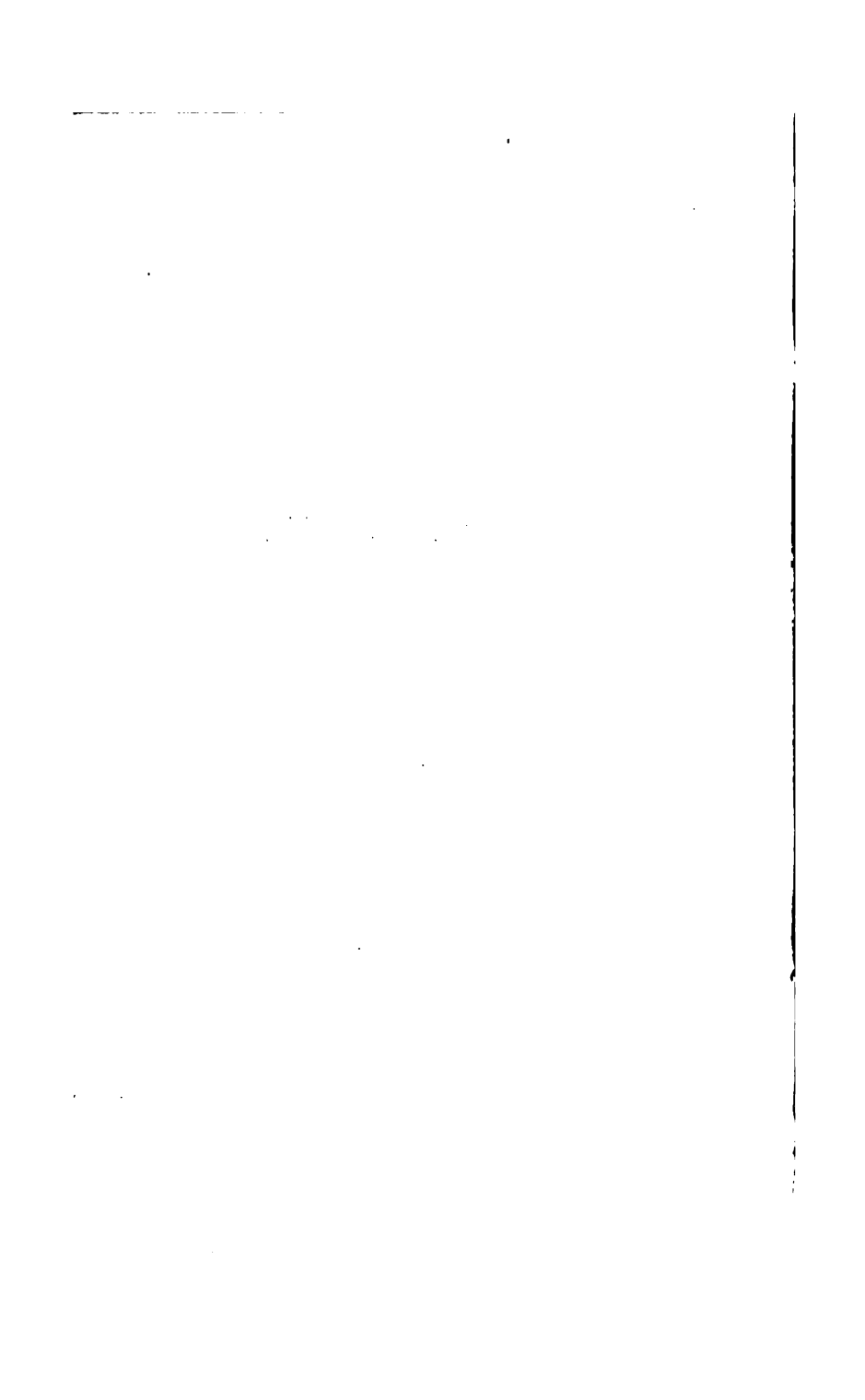
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Nº. VII.





CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND
PRACTICE IN THE SECOND
CENTURY.



LONDON:
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1844.





CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

MUCH has been said and written within the last few years on the subject of Primitive Christianity ; and, as generally happens on all points in which men's interests are deeply concerned, party spirit has crept in, and created discord where it is most to be lamented. It is a subject of wonder to many, that a religion of peace should ever give rise to the fierce animosities which have so frequently disgraced the history of the Church ; but we may notice that in matters of civil polity, though they are the concern only of a few years, bloody disputes arise, notwithstanding that the Christian profession of the contending parties forbids any such outbreaks of ill-will towards our fellow men. Can we wonder then, that when men's minds are so little disciplined in the true doctrine of Christianity, the same spirit which pervades their every-day

intercourse should show itself on occasions where the feelings are yet more strongly roused? The interests of eternity far surpass those of this perishable world; and the half disciple of Christ, who believes in a future life, but has not studied the precepts of his master sufficiently to know how those interests will be best consulted, attaches himself to certain ceremonies or dogmata, as the keystones of salvation, and is proportionably angry with any one who seems endeavouring to pull them down; and thus the same lack of *real* Christian duty and feeling which shows itself in the violence of an election, is manifested also in the contention upon a disputed dogma in religion. Truly might the Saviour say to his disciples in all ages, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of."

It is not with any view to controversy that this little work is published: on the contrary it has been the object of the writer to promote concord, by showing Christianity in the very garb she wore when conquering the world; when she was so lovely that men died for her sake, and he who came to gaze on the sufferings of the martyr, as at an idle spectacle, remained to share his fate, baptized, as it were, with his blood. To restore such feelings, to show Christians of

all denominations in how many points they agree, and how very little they differ on any of those doctrines which a Catechist of the second century thought it needful to impress on the converts committed to his teaching, is an object worth some pains : accordingly the present small tract is the product of the labour of many years, during which the compiler has carefully gone over the early Christian writers. He has found the views of Clement of Alexandria pervading the whole ; but has chosen him as the representative of the early Church, because he has taken a larger survey of the *practical* part of Christianity than most of the writers which remain to us : and because, in these practical lessons, we see what was the mode of induction by which he arrived at the principles from which he afterwards deduced his precepts. A contrary practice has been frequently a source of error ; it is therefore the more needful to draw attention to this mode of proceeding.

Christianity is not a written code of laws : Christ left no sacred books ; he left no command to his Apostles to write any ; they were to teach the principles of a pure faith and a pure morality, but were left to accommodate to circumstances the superstructure which was to be

built on this foundation. When, therefore, we find a positive injunction in the writings of the Apostles, our first step must be to inquire under what circumstances that injunction was given ; the next, to consider what was the fundamental principle from which, under such circumstances such a precept was deduced ; that fundamental principle when we have arrived at it, not the injunction itself, is Christianity. Thus the command to "greet one another with a holy kiss," was deduced from the principle of universal love to our fellow creatures, and the apostle enjoined a testimony of it, which was conformable to the habits of the age and country in which he wrote ; the fundamental principle of extended benevolence is as important now as then, but the mode of testifying it is different : the *precept* is null, the *principle* is of eternal force. This is but one very obvious instance out of a multitude that might be given.

It is from this misunderstanding of the mode by which we are to arrive at Christian doctrine, that most of the sects in the Church have arisen ; for the sectarian builds his opinions on special interpretations of special texts, and his opponent argues on the same plan : neither of them appeals to great principles, and therefore the con-

trovery is endless: since as long as we have no better medium than words framed for the natural wants of this world, to convey our notions relating to matters so wholly different, we shall never be able to impress our own full meaning on the mind of another: but were we once to go back to principles, which being the internal persuasions of reason, will be felt in all minds alike,—at least in all that have the power of thinking and drawing a conclusion,—we should find that most of these long disputed dogmata would fade away, and men would wonder why they had been at variance.

Instead of taking a passage of St. Paul's Epistles, and endeavouring to make it a rule of faith, we should rather ask ourselves how was the great Apostle of the Gentiles situated when he wrote this? As, for instance, when he says, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the rudiments of this world, and not after Christ," we ought to recollect the peculiar state of philosophy in his days, devoted rather to idle questions than real science; and conclude from thence, that the *principle* which he meant to enforce was, the founding our faith on sound knowledge, and not losing time over unavailing quibbles; such as,

when a man leads a horse by a halter, whether it is the man or the halter which leads the horse: for of this kind were the questions which the sophists of those days delighted to puzzle their auditory with. To conclude against the philosophy of a Herschell, because St. Paul had mentioned the word philosophy in a tone of disapprobation, would be a specimen of the above mentioned narrow kind of adherence to the letter of the precept. The more reasonable mode of proceeding would rather be to ask ourselves, —had St. Paul lived in the nineteenth century, and visited this country, how would he have acted, and what mode of conduct would he have enjoined? he, who professed himself to be “all things to all men, if by any means he might save some.” Uncompromising as he was in all that related to the weightier matters of the law, how carefully does he avoid wounding lesser prejudices! “One believeth that he may eat all things, another who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not: and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another’s servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea he shall be holden up, for God is able to make him stand.

One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind: he that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it." *

And here one word may be permitted;—it shall be a short and a kind one—to the Anglo-Catholics of Oxford, and their opponents. Would St. Paul, were he now here, speak otherwise than in the passage above quoted? Why, then, should there be a dispute over such minor differences? Learned and pious as the heads of the Anglo-Catholics are, have we any right to blame them for a scrupulousness which St. Paul would have respected? Yet learned and pious as those excellent men undoubtedly are, may they not learn one farther lesson from him, and be contented to leave to their brethren that Christian liberty which he would not have abridged? It may admit a doubt, and a well grounded one, whether that Apostle, with his eminently liberal and practical views, would ever have wished to revive in England, in the nineteenth century, the discipline of the Churches of Syria or Greece in

* Rom. xiv. 2-6.

the fourth. Let us then rather hold out the hand of Christian affection to each other, and allow mutually, that "he that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it."

Clement of Alexandria, whose writings form the ground-work of the following pages, is thought to have been born at Athens: he was the son of Gentile parents, whose rank and fortune enabled them to afford him all the advantages of a liberal education; his own diligence aided his parents' liberality, and young Clement made extraordinary proficiency in philosophy, that early philosophy of Greece which, as he himself afterwards observed, "was, like the Mosaic law, a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ." Socrates and Plato brought him to the foot of the Cross, and like the Roman Centurion, his heart confessed at once the presence of the Deity in that suffering man. He became a Christian, and a zealous one; brought the treasures of his mind to the aid of the Church, and was for many years a Catechist, that is, a person charged with the instruction of the heathen converts before baptism. He remained at Alexandria,

and finally became a presbyter, but never was raised to the rank of a bishop. He died peaceably about A. D. 212. His writings probably bear date about A. D. 180 to A. D. 202, at which latter period the persecution of the Emperor Severus drove him from the school at Alexandria to take shelter in a safe obscurity, till the storm was overblown.

A few remarks will be needful to put the unlearned reader in possession of some peculiarities in the language, before he enters upon the following, or any other translation from the Greek. Much of the New Testament will become the clearer in consequence. The word *Λόγος*, which in the Gospel of St. John is translated *WORD*, has in the original a much wider signification; for though it occasionally has that sense, it much more generally signifies the reasoning faculty, or active power of the mind: from it is derived our word *logic*, and from *λογικός*, *logicos*, *rational*, we take our *logical*. A foolish man would be termed in Greek *ἄλογος*, i. e. without *logos* or understanding. The word *λόγος* was so commonly used in the schools of philosophy at the time when the New Testament was written, that no one could have had a moment's dif-

ficulty as to its sense ; and accordingly we find several of the early Christian writers observing that the Logos, i. e. the active rational power, must have been in God from all eternity, because God is essentially λογικός, i. e. rational ; and they accordingly give that title to every manifestation of God's will to his creatures, considering it in this case to be the rational power of God in visible action. Thus we find St. Paul speaking of the "Spiritual Rock," which followed the Israelites in their journey through the desert, "which rock was Christ."* And shortly after, "neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents ;" where the visible presence of God in the tabernacle is evidently termed Christ ; a word used by the Apostle as synonymous with Logos, because, though different in their original signification, the two names were applied to the same Being.

Christ, which is the English mode of writing the Greek χριστος, i. e. anointed, is the same in meaning as the Messiah of the Hebrew, and both are applied to Aaron and the priests who succeeded him, because they were consecrated

* 1 Cor. x. 4.

by unction : thus we constantly find in the Mo-
saic law, “ and *the Messiah, the Priest* shall do
thus”—that is, the anointed or consecrated priest ;
and hence the appropriateness of the allusions
to the office of the high priest in the Epistle to
the Hebrews. Some allusions of this kind will
also be found in Clement’s writings. The dou-
ble meaning of these titles gives rise perpetually
to a play upon the words, which frequently can-
not be rendered in a translation without a long
periphrasis.

Another term which is used largely by Cle-
ment, and also by St. Paul, is taken from the
mysteries of the Greeks, where the neophyte
went through various stages of initiation, till at
last he was permitted to know the whole arca-
num, and then he was called finished, or perfect
(τέλειος). The perfect Christian then, in the
acceptation of the early writers of the Church,
does not mean a person who has never sinned,
but one who, passing through the various stages
of Christian discipline, had arrived at the com-
plete knowledge of the spirit and meaning of his
profession : for it must be recollected, that they
are speaking of persons who had been brought
up in the errors of heathenism, and who having
wished to be instructed in the mysteries of

Christ instead of those of Eleusis, went through the different grades, first, of repentance for past errors ; second, of belief or faith in the doctrines taught ; third and last, of complete knowledge ; and a Christian thus perfectly initiated Clement calls a Gnostic, from γνῶσις, gnosis, a perfect knowledge of a subject. The title of Gnostic had been adopted by some corruptors of the faith also, and Clement addresses himself to them, showing them wherein they were wrong ; for says he, "the true Christian Gnostic will be such a one as I sketch out ;" and a more beautiful character can hardly be imagined than that of Clement's Gnostic, or perfect Christian.

It will be evident from what has been said, that in order to give a true notion of the writer's meaning to the mere English reader, a paraphrase rather than a translation of the extracts given must often be requisite, and the compiler has, on many occasions, adopted that method, with a due care however, to add nothing to the *meaning* of the original. Extracts from other authors of about the same age have been given, when they were useful either to corroborate or to explain the meaning of Clement. In some cases, as in the chapter of the Pædagogus on the Christian use of food, some details have been

entered into, which at first sight may appear irrelevant to the general purpose of this small work ; but there has been an object in their insertion : we are too apt to lose sight of the diversity of country and manners, in reading ancient writings, and thus make two mistakes ; the one by unconditionally accepting their precepts, the other by unconditionally rejecting them. The same process which has been recommended above, with regard to the Epistles of the Apostles, is more needful yet in reading the writings of their successors, and it is in order to set the reader down, as it were, in a very different state of society, that some of these *fashions* of the day have been preserved in this selection from early Christian writers.

It should be remembered by all who are desirous of understanding the writings of the fathers, or the state of the Church in their times, that, in the early ages, heathens were the stuff that Christians were made out of. Men and women too were, by their early habits, corrupted to a point which surpasses any thing which, in modern times, the decent part of society can even guess at : the grossest obscenities were the common, public, and every-day habits of life, and of religion too : and philosophers, in their schools,

mooted the coarsest questions in the coarsest language without the slightest reserve. The Roman Emperors made a parade of every abomination that man could commit, without attempting the least concealment even from the people in general, excepting in the case of Tiberius :—eyes, ears, thoughts, were poisoned from morning till night by a tainted atmosphere. Amid this steam of putridity Christianity raised itself, pure, unspotted, holy,—wrapped, as it were, in the fragrance of heaven in the midst of the reeking corruption : it was around the cross only that a pure air could be breathed, and men fled to it as for life :—but they carried with them the recollection and the stains of their early habits :—what wonder then that even Christian doctors used language, and discussed questions which are now strange to our ears ? what wonder, if amid such scenes as were rife in the moving world, many should withdraw wholly from it, and find their happiness in the wilderness ? what wonder if the bishop who had a feeling of what Christian duty is, should seek to gain a power even over crowned heads, that would enable him to check such licentiousness ? When Ambrose closed the gates of the Cathedral of Milan against the Emperor Theodosius,

then stained with the massacre at Thessalonica, and compelled him to public penance and reparation, he showed what was the noble object which animated the heads of the Church at that time, in striving to exalt the spiritual over the temporal jurisdiction : the common sense of the people compared the bishop with the emperor,—the former not without faults, but infinitely superior in all that forms the true greatness of man, to the licentious tyrants who too often wore the purple ; and public opinion gave the supremacy to the bishop. A power which confessedly stands on this as its chief support, must have begun in good ; for nothing that is in the first instance oppressive or wholly false can gain a *majority* of adherents, which a power founded on public opinion implies ; but unfortunately the very nobleness and greatness of the end, blinded those who had it in view, so far, that they became unscrupulous as to the means of attaining it ; and having once lost sight of the Christian command not to do evil that good may come, the very advancers of a noble object corrupted their own hearts, and vitiated their purpose by the ill means adopted : the step was easy from spiritual to political power, and an ambitious man who saw that his really devout predecessors

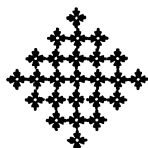
had not scrupled to make use of fraud, to gain a farther hold on the minds of the people, easily persuaded himself that his political ambition had really the glory of God in view, and used the same means for a worse purpose. Political power was gained partly by immoral means, partly by the lingering prestige of holiness which hung round the priestly vestment, compared with the vices and cruelties of the princes of a rude age: but political power placed the prince bishops on a level with temporal rulers, they adopted their manners and their vices, and once more public opinion stripped and threw down the idol, which but a few ages before it had so eagerly set up.

Such is the view which an unprejudiced spectator probably would take of the rise of the spiritual power, which at last frightened its creators into pulling it down again; and it may be usefully applied to the present times. We should then view Romanism as an almost necessary phase of Christianity in a state of society now passed away, and remembering that since the Church, according to the promise of its founder, is to be coæval with the world, it must have within itself the power of accommodating itself to the state and needs of every age;—we shall en-

deavour to develope its power in the direction most appropriate to time and place, not by reviving the exact discipline of any by-gone age, but by giving it the energy best suited to our own ; an energy of good and useful works rather than of ceremonial observance. It is better to remember Cyprian calling his flock together to nurse the sick of the plague at Carthage, than to dwell on his high pretensions to episcopal power, though if in any they were ever justified, it was in such a man. When the Church makes such calls, men's hearts respond to it, if not their lips ; for though Cyprian died a martyr to his faith, his honoured obsequies met no interruption from the heathen governor, who knew how dear the Christian bishop was become, even to the population who had not received his creed, by his unhesitating and undistinguishing benevolence :—undistinguishing, I mean, as to what the religious profession of the object of it might be. Heathens had left their sick and dying relatives,—Christians had nursed them as a part of the great human brotherhood,—and the tears of both parties flowed over his grave, who had given the impulse to this act of self-devotion.

Let us view the first Christians then as they were ; as men of great minds, though influenced,

as all men must be, by the circumstances of their times; mixing almost superhuman virtues at one time, with human errors at another, and whilst contemplating those virtues with the admiration which all who love excellence must feel, let us not suffer our admiration to blind us to their faults, nor forget that there is but ONE PERFECT EXEMPLAR for every Christian to follow.





AN EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS.

C. I.

THE writer opens his subject by reminding the Greeks of their traditions respecting the effects of the music and sacred hymns of Amphion, Orpheus, and others. Song, he observes, has been the vehicle of superstition too often, it is now time that other and better hymns should teach you other and better lessons. He thus continues.

“The Lord has made man after his own likeness, that he might be a fair, self-breathing instrument of sweet music; and He too the heavenly supra-mundane Logos, is a holy and well-tuned organ, giving forth the whole harmony of God. What then does this organ, our Lord the Logos of God, intend to effect by his new song? To open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf, and to lead the erring and lame to the paths of righteousness: to show God to foolish

men, to put an end to corruption, to vanquish death, and to turn disobedient sons towards their Father ; for this organ of God is a lover of man. The Lord pities, instructs, exhorts, admonishes, saves, guards, and finally announces to us an abundant reward for our proficiency in learning the lessons he teaches, even the kingdom of heaven ! He enjoys but one pleasure through us, and that is that we should be saved : for vice indeed feeds upon the corruption and destruction of man, but the Eternal Truth like a bee, drawing to himself all the sweetness of the flower without hurting it, rejoices only in our salvation. See then ! thou hast His promise ! thou hast His affection for thy race ! Participate in the proffered grace. And as for this my song of salvation, think it not altogether new, for before the morning star He was. ‘ In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and God was the Logos.’

“ But error seems ancient : the truth appears to be new : thus the fabulous goats teach the antiquity of the Phrygians ; or the poets feign the Arcadians to have existed before the moon ; or the Egyptians imagine their land to have first produced both gods and men ; but none of these claim to have existed before the world. But

long before the world *we** existed in the will and intention of God; for we are the rational creation of God's† rational will, and through him we became the most ancient; for the Logos, i. e. reason, was in the beginning; and as the Logos was before all things, so he was and is the divine origin of all: but now that he first takes the name which of old belonged to the sacrificing priest,‡ namely, that of Christ, I call the song a new one.

“The divine Logos, the Christ, was the cause of our being, and of our well-being also: for he was in God:§ and now this Logos himself appears to men, the only being that ever partook of both natures, as well that of God as of man,

* i. e. the Christians, who then appeared as a new sect.

† τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ ἀλογικὰ πλάσματα ἡμῖς.

‡ The sacrificing priests, under the Mosaic dispensation, were termed the Messiah or anointed. This word is translated in Greek by χριστός i. e. Christ.

§ “For God was before all things alone—being both world and place and every thing to himself. Alone, because there is nothing exterior to Him, and yet not indeed alone, because he had in himself his reason: for God is rational, and reason was first in Him, and thus all things are from Him, and this reason is his sensation.

to be the cause of all good to us. From him we learn to live virtuously ; by him we are conducted towards eternal life, as says the divine apostle of the Lord, " the love of God the Saviour was manifested to all men, instructing us, in order that we, having abjured all impiety and worldly desires, might live soberly, and justly, and piously in this world, expecting, in blessed hope, the manifestation of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

" This then is the new song : namely the appearance of the Logos, existing in the beginning, and before the beginning, now shining forth in us. The præexisting Saviour has now but a short time since, appeared to us : HE has appeared who exists ever in the Ever-existing : in

The Greeks term it λογος, which we translate WORD, and thus our people, for brevity sake, say, ' In the beginning the Word was with God,' though it would be proper to say, reason, since God was not speaking from the beginning, although rational ; and this he was, even before the beginning ; for the very word spoken, consisting of reason, shows the prior existence of this latter. Considering, therefore, and disposing by his reason, He effected his will by his word. Which thou mayst easily understand by what passes in thyself . . . when thou conferrest silently with thine own reason."—*Tertull. adv. Praxeam*, c. 5.

order that the Logos,—i. e. reason or wisdom,—by whom all things were created,* who was with God, might become a teacher to us. The Logos who gave life in the beginning as Creator, now appears as a teacher, in order that he may afterwards, as God, give us life eternal. Nor did he now first take pity on our errors, but long ago, in the beginning of time: and now, when we were perishing, he appears and saves. For the evil and creeping animal, tempting and bewitching, enslaves and tortures men even to this time, as the barbarians are said to do their captives, binding the dead to the living till both putrefy together. For this evil one, like a tyrant, ties such as he is able to make his own, to stones, and wood, and all sorts of idols,

* “God through his reason or word (λόγος) and wisdom (σοφίας) made all things.”—*Theoph. ad Autolyicum*, lib. i.

“It is not allowable to think otherwise therefore of the Spirit and the power (τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν) which is in God (παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ) than that it is the Logos, which also is the firstborn of God, as Moses the prophet has shown. This came upon the Virgin and overshadowed her,” &c.—*Justin Mart. Ap.* ii.

“Possessing the Spirit which is Jesus Christ.”—*Ignat. ad Magnesios Ep.* § 5.

Nothing is more remarkable in the early Christian

with the miserable bond of superstition ; and, it may be said, buries the living with those who are already decayed : thus,—for the tempter is but one,—he dragged Eve of old,* and now other men, to death. Our Helper and Saviour, the Lord too, is One ; awaiting, from the first, the time prophetically announced ; but now visibly calling us to salvation. Let us then, according to the apostolic precept, fly “the ruler of the power of the air, of the spirit now energetic in the sons of disobedience,” and escape to the Saviour and Lord, who now and ever exhorts to salvation, as he did of old in Egypt and the desert, through the bush and the cloud. And

writers than the care with which they guard against any *separation* of the Deity in the mind ; probably the Arian notion which made the Logos a separate being was already beginning to creep in. But as in the above passage Justin asserts the complete oneness of the Deity as manifested in Christ, so he asserts also the complete humanity of Jesus, within a few pages, in the same treatise. “Jesus, called the Son of God,” says he, “although he was a man according to the common acceptance of the term, was worthy of being called the Son of God, on account of the wisdom that was in him, for even your poets always call the Deity the father of gods and men.”—*Justin Mart. Ap. ii. p. 67.*

* The tempter, according to Clement’s opinion, is the earthly or sensual nature.—See *Protrep. c. 11.*

now by the voice of Moses the deeply learned, and Isaiah the lover of truth, and all the chorus of prophets, by a more rational teaching, he turns all who have ears towards that Logos which is the Divine Wisdom ; sometimes he blames, sometimes he threatens ; to some he speaks in elegies, to some in lyric songs ; like a good physician using various remedies for the sick. For the Saviour is many voiced, and in many ways strives to effect the salvation of man."

"But, thou O Greek ! if thou believest not the prophets, if to thee both the men and the fire are but a mythological fable, to thee the Lord himself speaks, 'who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God ;' for the compassionate Deity abased himself in his eagerness to save man ; and the Logos himself now addresses thee openly, shaming thy want of belief. I say then, that the Logos of God is made man, in order that thou mightest learn from a man, how man might become a god. Is it not then absurd, my friends, when God is always exhorting to virtue, to reject his help, and throw away salvation ?"

Clement then goes on to notice the preaching of John, and his exhortations to repentance ; and then adds, "Do thou then, if thou wouldst

see God truly, participate in such a purification as shall be worthy of Him ; not with leaves of laurel, and fillets varied with wool and purple, but clothing thyself with righteousness, and wearing the leaves of temperance for a garland, seek diligently till thou findest Christ. 'I am the door,' says he, and that door must be sought by those who would know God: that once attained, the gates of heaven are open to us: for the doors of the Divine Reason* are rational,† opening with the key of faith: no one knows God but the Son, and he to whom the Son makes him known; but I am well assured that he who has opened the door hitherto shut, will henceforward reveal what is within; and will show those things which no one was able to know before, unless he entered by Christ, through whom alone God is perceived."

C. 2. "No longer then seek so curiously to explore the impious adyta of your temples, nor the mouths of deep caves full of wonders, the Thesprotean pot, or the Cirrhean tripod, or the brazen cauldron of Dodona, or the knotted tree among the sands of the desert, held in so much

* i. e. The Logos.

† λογικαὶ γὰρ αἱ τῆς Λόγῃ πύλαι.

honour, or the oracle there given. With the decaying tree leave also these worn out fables : the Castalian fountain has been silenced, so has that of Colophon, and the other oracular streams have died away in like manner."

After a further triumphant notice of the now silent oracles, the writer launches into a comparison of the abominations of heathen mythology, and its gross and sensual rites, with the purity and sublime doctrines of Christianity : notices with praise the pure lives of the philosophers, who by their contemporaries were termed atheists,* and insists, that so far from this charge being true, they were so stigmatized merely because they pointed out and despised the falsehood of the reigning superstition ; "if they did not actually arrive at the truth," he adds, "at least they saw the error, and kept a living ember among the ashes, to be kindled hereafter to a brighter light." He then, with a fresh burst of indignant reproof, holds up to contempt the so called gods of the Greeks, and continues this strain through several chapters : after this he reviews the opinions of the philosophers ; con-

* " Christ is the firstborn of God, as we have already shown, being the Logos (reason and speech) of which

demns their occasionally obscure, and occasionally timid expressions respecting the momentous truths which he is calling the attention of his readers to, and contrasts them with the bold, clear language of Christianity. From the philosophers he turns to the poets; and having pointed out many of their mean and unworthy representations of their mythological deities, he brings forward the Hebrew prophets to show the difference in sublimity between falsehood and truth, and calls on those who have been hitherto blinded by superstition, to listen to the true description of the Maker of all things.

C. 8. "The wise prophet Jeremiah, or rather the Holy Spirit speaking in him, thus describes God, 'I am a God at hand,' saith he, 'not a God afar off: what can man do in secret that I see not? Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord.' And again in Isaiah, 'Who shall measure the heavens with his span, and take

all the human race are participant, and they who live according to reason are Christians, though they may have been called atheists, such as Socrates and Heracleitus and the like, among the Greeks, and among the barbarians Abraham and Ananias, and Azarias, and Misael, and Elias, and many more which for brevity's sake I omit."—*Justin Mart. Ap. ii.*

* Protrept. c. 8.

the earth in his hand?' See now the immensity of God, and bow in awe before him. HIM we worship of whom the prophet has said, 'before HIS face the mountains melt away, like wax before the fire'—that God whose throne is the heavens, and his footstool the earth." After some more quotations of this kind he thus proceeds.

"What then is the mystery of wisdom which I announce to you? We who have bowed ourselves before idols, are by that wisdom which is his Logos, raised to the truth; and this is the first resurrection from the fall."

C. 9. "The mouth of the Lord, the Holy Spirit, has said, 'Neglect not, my son, the instruction of the Lord, neither shrink from his reproof.'—O exceeding philanthropy! God speaks to man, not as a schoolmaster to his scholars, not as a lord to his slaves, but as a father gently admonishing his children. Moses confesses that he feared and trembled when he heard the Logos, and thou hearing that divine Logos, dost thou not fear? Art thou not moved? Wilt thou not hasten to learn, that is, hasten to thy salvation, fearing his wrath, loving his kindness, eager for the hope he affords thee, that thou mayest escape judgment?"

C. 10. With an earnestness proportioned to the importance of the subject, the writer points out again and again the parental tenderness with which God calls his erring children back to himself: he entreats his readers no longer to hesitate, but to turn to the proffered embraces of their affectionate parent; and meets the anticipated objection that such a step would be an abandonment of the faith of their fathers, by a fresh demonstration of the vanity of that faith. "Call hither," he says, "your Pheidias and your Polycleitus, Praxiteles, and Apelles too, and all your excellent artists;—not one of them can make a breathing image; not one can mould his clay into flesh. Who softened the marrow? who hardened the bones? who swelled the veins, and poured the blood into them? who spread the skin over all? who of you all is able to construct an eye that shall see? who can breathe a soul into his work? who will bestow righteousness? who will promise immortality? He alone, who is the Creator of the universe, the Great Artist and Father who formed man to be his living image. Your Olympian Jupiter, the image of an image, is the vain work of Attic hands: but the true image of God is his Logos, the genuine Son of the Eternal Mind, the Divine Reason,

the Light given forth by the Primal Light of all things :—and man is the image of the Logos, for there is in him a mind, which we are told was made in the image of God, and after his likeness ; namely, a rational intellect, and feelings resembling the Divine.

“ He who has never heard of the Logos receives pardon of his sins on account of his ignorance ; but he who has received the knowledge, but yet turns away his soul from it through wilful incredulity, by how much the more prudent he may appear, by so much he does injury to his own intellect, for man was made to be familiar with God. We do not set the horse to plough, nor the bull to hunt, but occupy each of those beasts in what they were born for. And man, who is made to gaze on the skies, is evidently a heavenly plant : we call you then to the knowledge of God, to intimacy with him ; and counsel you to get ready a due provision for eternity, even a pious life. Till the earth, we say, if thou be an husbandman ; but still amid thy labours, learn to know God : if thou be devoted to a sea life, follow thy profession, but call upon the Heavenly Steersman. Art thou a soldier ? listen to the righteous orders of thy Commander. Awaken then as a man does from

drunken sleep, open your eyes gradually, and look at the miserable stones that you have worshipped." After a page or two of the same kind of exhortation, he continues thus :—

C. 11. " And now, if you be willing, let us take a brief view of the Divine benevolence towards us. The first man formerly sported free in Paradise, for he was the child of God ; but when he resigned himself to sensual pleasure, (for the serpent crawling on his belly is an allegorical expression for sensuality and earthly vice feeding on rubbish,) the youth was perverted with unruly desires, grew a man in disobedience, and not choosing to listen to his Father, dishonoured God. How great is the power of sensuality ! the man who in his simplicity was free, is found bound by his sins. The Lord determined to loosen him again from his bonds, and for this purpose clothed himself in flesh ; O divine mystery ! By this he subdued the serpent, and enslaved the tyrant death ; and what is most beyond belief, that very man who was wandering in the ways of sensuality, chained to corruption, is now seen with his hands unbound, and at liberty. The Lord was abased, but man arose, and he who had fallen from Paradise, received Heaven as the reward of a greater obedience.

Why then should we any longer frequent the schools of Athens or of Ionia? For we have a Master who fills all things with his holy, creating, saving, beneficent power; and who guides us by precept, by prophecy, by instruction,—for he is able to teach us all things.”

“He who obeys him”—i. e. Christ—“exults in everything; follows God; obeys his Heavenly Father, acknowledging his former errors; loves God; loves his neighbour; fulfils the commandments; strives after the prize of a successful combatant; claims the promise. For it was always God’s intention * to save the human flock, and therefore the good God sent the good Shepherd: the Divine Logos, explaining the truth, shewed men the height of salvation, and how the repentant would be saved, but the disobedient judged. What then do I exhort thee to do? I urge thee to save thyself—this is Christ’s will: in one word, he presents thee with life. And who is this Christ? I will tell you in a few words. He is the Logos or Word of truth,—of incorruption: who regenerates man, leading him to truth; the spur to salvation, who puts away

* *πρόκειται δὲ ἀεὶ τῷ Θεῷ*—i. e. It always lay before God.

mortality, who expels death, who builds a temple in men, in order that God may dwell in them. Purify this temple, and throw sensuality and indolence, like an ephemeral flower, to the wind and the fire. Cultivate prudently the fruits of temperance, and consecrate thyself to God as a first-fruit of thy labour, and not of that only, but of the grace of God towards thee.

C. 12. "Let us fly then from old habits, let us fly them as we would a dangerous promontory, or the threatening of Charybdis, or the fabulous Sirens. An ill habit strangles the man: it turns him away from the truth, it is a snare, it is an abyss, it is a ditch to bury him in, an evil fan to blow away the good grain from his heart. But do thou

'Drive the good ship through yonder froth and foam.'*

Sail past, unheeding the song: its tones are death. If thou wilt, thou canst vanquish the danger, and bound to the mast,† thou wilt be free from all corruption: thy steersman will be the Logos of God, and the Holy Spirit is the

* Part of the speech of Ulysses to his steersman. *Odys.* μ. ν. 226.

† τῷ ξύλῳ, to the wood; the phrase is applicable also to the cross.

favourable wind that calls thee to the port of heaven. There wilt thou see God, and take the last step in thy initiation in those holy mysteries." The writer then traces a parallel between the mysteries of Christ, and those of Bacchus, and thus proceeds :—

" These are *my* bacchanian mysteries : be initiated, and thou wilt join the chorus of angels around the self-existent, and undying, and only existing Deity, hymning with us the Logos of God. He is immortal, this Jesus—the one great high-priest of the one God his father, he prays for men, and thus calls them.—Listen to me, ye myriads of tribes, or rather as many of you as are rational, (λογικοί,) as well Barbarians as Greeks. I call the whole race of man, of whom I am the maker, by the will of the Father. Come to me, to be ranged under the one God, and under the one Logos of God, and not only shall you surpass irrational creatures by your reason, but I bestow on you alone, of all mortals, the gift of immortality. For if indeed all things are common between friends, and man is the friend of God, (for he is become so by the intervention of the Logos,) then man has a share in all that belongs to God ; and all things are in common between the two friends, God and man. The

36 AN EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS.

pious Christian therefore can alone be called rich, and well-conducted, and well-born, for he is the image of God, made just, and holy, and prudent, by Christ Jesus, and by him rendered like to God. . . . Thus stand things then with us, the companions of Christ : as are our opinions, such are our words ; and such as our words are, such are our actions ; and such as our actions singly, will be our life generally : for the life of men who know Christ must be excellent in all points.



THE PÆDAGOGUE, BOOK I.

C. 1.

THREE things are chiefly to be noticed in man ; i. e. his general disposition, or morals,—his actions, or what he does actively ;—his emotions, or what he feels involuntarily and passively. Of these three, the *hortatory word* takes the especial charge of the general disposition, and whilst guiding men to piety, becomes a foundation for the building up of the faith. And in this teaching we rejoice greatly, and casting off our old opinions, we become young again, in order to our salvation, exclaiming with the prophet, “ Oh how good is God to Israel, and to those whose hearts are set aright.” The *suggesting word* regulates our actions, the emotions are guided and stilled by the *persuasive* and *consolatory word* ; * but this word is alto-

* In this passage the writer appears to have availed himself of the many senses of λόγος, to make it signify many things at once ; and thus, while alluding to his own Exhortation, which might justly be called a hor-

gether one, and being one, snatches man from the multiformity of worldly habits, and leads him in one way to salvation, even faith in God. Therefore whilst our heavenly Leader, the Logos, is calling us to salvation, we call him the hortatory word...when he is at once suggestive and remedial, we call him in one appropriate word, the Pædagogus or Tutor. But this Tutor does not teach the methods of the schools, but is strictly practical; for his object is rather to better the soul, than to imbue it with learning, and to make men wise and good, rather than scientific. The Logos is able to teach knowledge also, but not yet:—for the teacher of science occupies himself in unfolding abstruse doctrines; but this Tutor, being practical, attends first to the regulation of the disposition and morals; incites us to set ourselves manfully to the performance of our duties; directs us by the purest of precepts; holds up the example of preceding errors, as a warning to those who come after...The cure of the interior sickness of our passions follows, the Tutor

tatory argument, or word (λόγος προτρεκτικός), he, at the same time, expresses the offices assumed by the Divine Λόγος, and the uses to be made of the sacred writings.

strengthening the soul by persuasive examples, the gentle medicines : by his benevolent admonitions dieting the sick to a perfect knowledge of the truth : for in our phraseology, health differs from knowledge ; the one being gained from medicine, the other from school discipline. Now we never attempt to teach the sick man till he is quite recovered ; nor are the precepts enforced on the sick man and the scholar, of the same kind : for in the one case they will relate to the cure, in the other to progress in learning. As then those who are sick in body need a physician, so do those whose souls are weak and ailing, need the superintendence of a tutor and guardian, who shall take care that they are cured of the sickness of the passions first ; and then afterwards comes the teacher who leads them, thus cured and purified, into an aptitude for perfect knowledge, so that they may be able to comprehend the unfolding of the whole course of instruction. And thus the philanthropic Logos, eagerly diligent in carrying us on to perfection through the different stages of a salutary discipline, uses this wise arrangement ; and first exhorts, then guides, and finally instructs in all knowledge.

C. 2. Our Tutor, O ye children ! resembles

his Father, God ; whose unsinning, irreproachable son he is ; his soul being free from all earthly perturbations. He is pure God in the character of a man,—the minister of the paternal will,—the Logos-God, who is in the Father, who is from among the integral powers* of God,—God, with the very characteristics of God. He is to us an image without spot, which we must endeavour with all our strength to assimilate our souls to. But he indeed is free from the perturbation of human passions, and being alone without sin, is alone fit to be our judge ;—we nevertheless have so much power that we can endeavour to sin as little as possible, and there is nothing more urgent upon us than that we should, in the first place, free ourselves from the passions and sicknesses of our souls, and in the next, obtain power to prevent the too ready falling again into the habit of sinning. Best of all it is not to sin at all—but this belongs to God ; the second grade is, not so much as to touch any unrighteousness intentionally, and this is

* *ἐκ δεξιῶν*, the word here used in the plural, is in many passages of the New Testament used in the singular, and has there been translated *on the right hand* : its plural use here would seem to prove that it every where means the power that is in God to afford help.

the conduct of a sage: the third is not to fall into very many involuntary wrong doings, and this is the case with those who have been well educated; the last and lowest is that of persons who do not remain long in their sins..... Involuntary wrong doings are those which are the result of a sudden emotion. To sin is to act on an irrational principle, and hence the Divine Reason (Λόγος) our Tutor, has taken us under his superintendence for the prevention of such folly.....“Medicine,” says Democritus, “cures the diseases of the body, but wisdom removes those of the soul.” The good Tutor who is the wisdom (σοφία) and the reason (λόγος) of the Father, and the Maker of man, cares for the whole of his creation, and being the complete physician of human nature, cures at once both soul and body: he says to the sick of the palsy, “Arise, take up thy bed, and go to thine house” —to the dead he cries, “Lazarus! come forth!” and the body arises from its tomb.....the soul he cures with precepts and gifts.....We, therefore, according to his intention, having become children, are disciplined under his excellent arrangement; which, embracing first the order of the heavens, next takes the direction of man himself, and considering him his greatest work,

having already tempered his body in beauty and just proportion, guides his soul to wisdom and moderation, finally regulating his human actions, and inspiring his own goodly order into the whole.

C. 3. The Lord is helpful to us in all ways, both as man and as God; for as God he takes away our sins, but as man he teaches us how to avoid sin. Well indeed may man be dear to God, since he is his own work: other things he called into existence by his fiat merely; but he made man as it were with his own hands, and breathed into him somewhat of his own natureMan, then, is loved by God; and how, indeed, should he not be loved on whose account the only born * was sent from the bosom

* *μονογενής*. This word is usually translated *only begotten*: but as the early Christian writers so scrupulously disclaim any such relation between the eternal Father and Son as this phrase implies, it has been thought better to change it for another, though not, perhaps, less exceptionable phrase. No English word probably gives the meaning of the original. Let Athenagoras explain what was the notion attached to their expressions by the early Christians. The following extract is taken from his Apology, which was written a little before the works of Clement of Alexandria:—

“It appears to me that I have sufficiently demonstrated that we cannot be Atheists, who preach one self-

of the Father;—he, who is the rational foundation (λόγος) of the faith...It becomes us, therefore, to love him who so lovingly guides us towards a worthy life; and, conducting ourselves according to the rules of his discipline, not only to fulfill what is commanded, and abstain from what is prohibited, but to profit by the examples held up to us, so that by avoiding the faults we see, on the one hand, and imitating to the utmost of our power the excellence

existent, eternal, invisible, impassible God, who can neither be included nor bounded, and who can be apprehended by the mind and reason alone; containing in himself ineffable light, and beauty, and spirit and power: by whom the universe was made, arranged and governed, through his Reason, or Word, (Λόγος) for we consider also that there is a Son of God. But let no one think it ridiculous that God should have a son, for we do not imagine any thing respecting God the Father or the Son such as the poets fable, who make their gods no better than men. The Son of God is the rational power (λόγος) of the Father in manifestation (ιδέα) and efficacy (ἐνέργεια) by him, and through him, all things were made, the Father and the Son being one. For the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father in the unity and power of the Spirit: the mind (νοῦς) and reason (λόγος) of the Father is the Son of God.—God being from all eternity Mind only, has necessarily the rational power (τὸν λόγον) within himself; for he is eternally rational.” *Athenag. Apol. pro. Christ.* p. 10.

which we perceive, on the other, we may assimilate our actions to the likeness of our Divine Tutor ; so that that part of us which is made in his image and similitude, may arrive at perfection. For wandering as we are in the deep obscurity of life, we need a sinless and discerning guide.....Let us then fulfill the commandments, according to the practice of the Lord : for the Divine Logos himself, being openly made flesh, exhibited both practical and theoretical virtue at once. Taking, therefore, the Logos as our law, we acknowledge his precepts and admonitions to be the shortest and best road towards eternity : for his institutions are full of persuasions, not of fear.

C. 4. "Delighting, therefore, now more and more in our wise obedience, we give ourselves up to the Lord, whether we be men or women, for there is but one rule for both. Both acknowledge one God, one Tutor, one Church : both are bound to the same temperance and moderation, to the same modesty :—food,—the union in marriage,—breath,—sight,—hearing, hope,—obedience,—love,—are common to both, and for those who have thus all things in common, grace and salvation are also in common : the love and the training is alike for both. "In

this world, says he, (the Saviour) there is marrying and giving in marriage," in which alone the difference between male and female is to be discerned, "but in that which is to come, it is not so." There the enjoyments of that friendly and holy life which arises out of marriage, will not be confined to male and female; but will belong to man generally as a species, when earthly desires and he have parted company; for man is the general name common to both sexes.

C. 5 "..... To us Isaac was a type of the Lord: he was a youth, that is a son; for he was the son of Abraham as Christ is of God; a sacrifice like the Lord, but not like the Lord offered; for Isaac merely carried the wood for the sacrifice, as Christ carried the cross. Only it was right that Isaac should not suffer, but leave the first fruits of that endurance to the Lord: yet his not being put to death also typified the divinity of the Lord: for Jesus rose after his funeral, not having suffered (in his Divine part), as Isaac was dismissed from the altar."

THE PÆDAGOGUE, BOOK II.

C. 1.

“**H**AVING now shewn what the general tendency of our discipline is, it shall be my next task to shew what ought to be the life of one who is called a Christian, and how his conduct will be regulated by our principles under all circumstances. For where any one has turned away from exterior things, and has been led by the Logos to the culture of the mind rather than that of the body, he must learn to look closely into all that occurs *in* man, and he will be aware that what is external concerns him but little. It is the eye of the soul, man’s distinguishing peculiarity, which must be cleansed ; while the flesh in like manner must be kept in chastity and holiness. What, indeed, is more desirable than that being loosened from those things in regard to which we may still consider ourselves as dust, we should press forward towards the thorough apprehension of the Deity. Other men, like the unreasoning animals, may live to eat ; . . . *we* have been taught by our Tutor to eat that we may live. For the nourishment of the body is not the work we have to do,

—nor is sensual pleasure the object of our pursuit, but rather the entrance into those mansions of incorruption whither the Divine Wisdom (ὁ Λόγος) is guiding us. We shall, therefore, eat simple food as becomes children, and merely study to preserve life, not to obtain luxury. The best nourishment is that which is consistent with an easy digestion, so that the body may be light and fit for service; and thus growth, and health, and useful strength are promoted: for I am not speaking of the pampered state of the Athletæ, who from the immense eating necessary to their occupation, injure, rather than benefit their habit of body. Great varieties of cookery, too, are to be avoided; for these engender abundant evils, disordering the stomach, and depraving the taste, and injuring the constitution. Yet we shall find persons daring to call this study of luxury, seeking nourishment merely; when, in fact, they are falling into sensuality. Antiphanes, the Delian physician, considers this variety and research in cookery to be one of the causes of disease; but still they who have no taste for simplicity, abandon a proper moderation in diet for the vain glory of a fine table, and their whole anxiety is for choice dishes from beyond sea. To *me* they appear pitiable, as

labouring under a disease; but *they* are not ashamed to employ themselves in celebrating their gluttonous enjoyments: their much sought muræna from the Sicilian straits, their Mæandrian eels, their kids from Melos, their mullets from Sciathos, their Pelorian scallops, their oysters from Abydena; not forgetting the anchovies from Lipara, or the Mantinæan turnips, or the beet grown by the Ascræans: they seek out the shell-fish of the Methymnæans, and the Athenian soles, and the Daphnian flounders, and the dry figs that the unhappy Persian monarch with his five hundred thousand men came to seek in Greece: * they buy birds from Phasis, and Egyptian snipes, and Median peacocks. All these, after undergoing a thousand changes in the cook's hands, are swallowed down by the glutton, who ransacks

The earth, the sea, and the wide-spreading air,

to satisfy his throat. These insatiable people seem, as it were, to include the whole world in a drag-net for their table: and thus they go about gabbling to no purpose, till they have rubbed away their own lives in the cook's mortar.

* See Athenæus, lib. xiv. c. 18.

It appears to me that such a man is nothing but one great pouch."—"Seek not," says the Scripture, "the dainties of the rich, for they are deceitful meat;" and we who seek for heavenly food, must command the stomach, and all that pertains to it. "Meats for the belly," says the Apostle, for it is by these that our fleshly and mortal life here is preserved; but some are bold enough to call these feasts, redolent of sauces and cookery, by the holy name of Agapè.*

* It was customary in the early church for the communicants to bring the bread and wine used in the Eucharist as an oblation on their part: a sufficiency was consecrated by the officiating minister, and if any was left after the ceremony, it was generally consumed on the spot by the communicants. The rest of the oblations were devoted to a meal eaten in the same place, "which," observes Bingham, in his Antiquities of the Christian Church, book xv. c. 7, "from the nature and circumstances of it was usually called Agapè, or feast of charity,† because it was a liberal contribution of the rich to feed the poor. St. Chrysostom gives this account of it, deriving it from Apostolical practice. He says‡ the first Christians had all things in common, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles; and when that ceased, as it did in the Apostles' time, this came in its room, as an efflux or imitation of it. For though the rich did not make all

† Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. ἀγάπην ποιῶν.

‡ Chrys. Hom. 27.

“Call your feasts by their proper names; term them dinner or supper parties, given for the sake of good fellowship and social intercourse: so the Lord himself called them: but do not confound things; for the Apostle tells us, If I give away my whole substance, and have not charity (*ἀγάπη*), I am nothing. The law and the word depend on this universal benevolence (*ἀγάπη*), and he who loves God and loves his neighbour also, will have a place at the table in heaven.*

“The kingdom is not meat and drink,” says the Apostle, to shew that it was of no earthly

their substance common, yet upon certain days appointed, they made a common table; and when the service was ended, and they had communicated in the Holy Mysteries, they all met at a common feast; the rich bringing provisions; and the poor, and those who had nothing, being invited, they all feasted together.”—“When the Christians in time of persecution, were obliged to meet early in the morning, before day, to celebrate the Eucharist we find the feast postponed . . . and Tertullian, who gives the most particular account of it, speaks of it as a supper a little before night. “Our supper,” he says, “which you accuse of luxury, shews its nature in its name; for it is called *ἀγάπη*, which among the Greeks signifies *love*. Whatever charge we are at, it is again to be at an expense upon the account of piety: for we therewith relieve and re-

feast that he spoke; "but it is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit," and he who eats such food is possessed of that kingdom. Agapè, then, is a pure thing, and worthy of God; but one of its works is the communication of the goods of life to others: it is not a supper; but the affording food to those that want it depends on agapè (charity). Let our suppers, then, be simple and speedy, such as shall leave us fit for our work, not a medley of choice dishes artfully prepared, for this last is unworthy of persons under the discipline of our Tutor; since the excess beyond a sufficient nourishment, deteriorates the man both in soul and body. How foolish and

fresh the poor. There is nothing vile or immodest committed in it, for we do not sit down till we have first offered up prayer to God; we eat only to satisfy hunger; and drink only so much as becomes modest persons. We fill ourselves in such a manner as that we remember we are to worship God by night."—Abuses afterwards crept in, and the practice was abandoned. It is of this kind of feast that St. Paul speaks, 1 Cor. xi. 20, where he reproves the people for their greediness, each considering his own supper only, till the whole became an indecorous display of selfish gluttony. "One goes hungry," he says, "and another is drunken," or filled.

* ἡ ἐπουδαιὸς ἐβωχία. Among the Greeks a table was spread for the public on certain festival days, and this was called ἐβωχία.

unreasonable it is in those who are present at dinners of the people, to wonder and admire, after having known the luxuries of the Logos, . . . how useless it is to rise from the couches, to peep into the dishes, looking out like young birds from the nest; . . . how idiotic to thrust the hands into the sweet sauces, or continually to be stretching them out to clutch at the viands, not to taste, but as it were to devour without measure or manners! By their voracity we might suppose such persons hogs or dogs rather than men: in their eagerness filling both cheeks, and swelling the veins in their face, till the perspiration flows down, and they are breathless, and oppressed with excess. . . . It is against these persons, who shew such an unseemly eagerness in their meals, that the Apostle directs his reproof, saying, "Every one is preoccupied with his own dinner whilst he is eating, and one goes without, and another is full. Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or do you despise the church of God, and cast contempt on those who are poor?" For these inordinate eaters at the table of the rich cast contempt on themselves. Both do evil: on the one hand, they who tempt their poorer brethren to excess; on the other hand, they who lay open their own intemperance

in the sight of their entertainer. It was needful, then, to reprove these unblushing persons, who enjoyed these dinners with so little discretion and modesty; and the Apostle adds, in much displeasure, "Wherefore, my brethren, when you come together to eat, wait for each other; and if any one is hungry, let him eat at home, that he may not come under an ill judgment." It is proper therefore to abstain from any servile*

* This word affords a clue to the object in view through this part of the chapter, which sounds so strange to our ears: *δαλοπρεπεια*, *slave-manners*, was used to express any very great impropriety of behaviour; but is especially applicable here, many of the first Christians being slaves, and therefore unaccustomed to those decencies of life which Clement is here inculcating. The hard fare to which they were accustomed made them of course eager to profit by the liberality now first experienced, and we find the givers of the feast blamed for tempting them into gluttony, by setting unwonted delicacies before them. The influence of Christianity in bettering the condition of the Pariah races of the countries where it was preached, was already beginning to be felt: the next step was to be made by civilizing the unfortunate people who, till then, had been left in hopeless degradation. The anxiety of the good Clement, to make his humble converts behave themselves like gentlemen, is amusing: but the lesson was not without its use; for the slave learned probably for the first time, in these lessons, to feel his dignity as a man. *Δέλας και δέλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει.* "Do not despise slaves either male or female," says Ignatius,

and intemperate habit, keeping the hands, and the couches, and the beard clean, and preserving a proper decorum of the face in eating and drinking, reaching out the hands in proper order, and at due intervals. Speaking whilst eating is to be avoided, for the voice is unintelligible and unpleasant whilst the mouth is full. . . Neither is it proper to eat and drink at the same time, for it is a great sign of intemperance to confound the proper seasons for each, and we are told, "whether we eat or drink, to do all to the glory of God," proposing to ourselves a true humility in all things. It appears to me indeed that the Lord hinted at something of what I have been saying, when he blessed the bread and broiled fish, with which he feasted the disciples; giving them thus an example of a simple and easily obtained nourishment. But this is not the time for these considerations; we have merely taken advantage of the present occasion to mention these things, that the chosen plants of the Logos

"neither let the slaves on their part be vainly puffed up, but for the glory of God serve so much the better, by how much the greater liberty they have received from God. Let them not seek to be freed from common service, lest they should be found slaves to their own desires."—*Ignat. Ep. Pol.* § 4.

may have their proper nurture, "for though all is lawful to me, all is not expedient," for they who always push their liberty to its utmost extent, will soon be tempted to go beyond it; and as justice is not likely to consort long with covetousness, so wise self-government is not acquired by intemperance. . . . And indeed those sorts of food are the most fit which can be used as they are, without the preparation of fire, for they are of readier attainment when wanted, and as I said before, a frugal table is desirable: for those who are luxurious in their food, nourishing their own morbid appetites, put themselves under the guidance of a gluttonous dæmon, which I do not scruple to call the dæmon of the belly, which is of all dæmons the worst and most ruinous: for such a person is like them whom we call ventriloquists; the belly, not the mouth, speaks. Indeed, Matthew the Apostle used only grain and fruit, berries and herbs, without any meat; and John the Baptist was yet more abstemious. Peter too abstained from swine's flesh till warned by the vision which bade him think nothing unclean which God had sanctified; nevertheless, the use of these things is indifferent, for "not that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man," but the taking it intemperately. . . .

The middle way is best, as in all other things, so especially in the preparation of our meals, for extreme heights offer but an unstable footing, and we stand safest on common ground ; and this common ground is, not to be deprived of necessary things ; for natural appetites are kept within their proper bounds by affording them sufficient gratification.

C. 2. “ ‘ Use a little wine for thy stomach’s sake,’ says the apostle to Timothy, for it is good to bring the help of an astringent to a languid constitution : but in small quantity, lest, instead of benefiting, it should be found to produce a fulness which would render other remedies needful : since the natural drink for a thirsty man is water, and this simple beverage alone was supplied from the cleft rock by the Lord, for the use of the Hebrews of old ; for sobriety is especially necessary to wanderers. This is it which is meant by drinking the blood of Jesus, namely, that we participate in the incorruption of the Lord : for the strength of the Logos is, to the spirit, what the blood is to the flesh, the wine is mixed with water, the spirit with the man ; and this mixture feasts our bodies in faith, while the spirit leads us on to incorruption ; again, the compound of both, of the wine and the Logos,

is called the Eucharist, namely an excellent and highly to be praised grace, whose partakers according to faith, are made excellent both in body and soul. The paternal will mystically mingling with the Spirit and the Logos produced the divine mixture, man ; for in truth the Spirit dwells in the soul which is guided by him, and the flesh is no less guided by the Logos, on which account also the Logos was made flesh.

“ I admire those who have chosen an austere life, and desire no other beverage than water, the medicine of a wise temperance, avoiding wine as they would the fire. I am therefore of opinion that it is desirable young men and maidens should, for the most part, forego this medication (wine) altogether ; for to drink wine during the boiling season of youth, is adding fire to fire : and hence arise irregular desires, and licentious conduct ; for the circulation is hastened, the veins swelled, and the whole body excited before its time, by the action of wine on the system. The body inflames the soul, and it follows thus the guidance of the pulse, which impels to unlawful licence, till very soon the fermenting liquor of youth overflows the bounds of modesty. It is needful then to endeavour to restrain the undue appetites of young men by taking from

them the incitements of Bacchus, and rather administering antidotes which should act as a sedative to the soul, and allay restless desires. Those who require a mid-day meal, may eat bread, altogether without wine, and if thirsty, let them satisfy themselves with water only. In the evening, at supper, when our studies are over, and the air is cooler, wine may be used without harm perhaps, for it will but restore the lost warmth: but even then it should be taken very sparingly, until the chills of age have made it a useful medicine: and it is for the most part best to mix it with water, in which state it conduces most to health."—A description of the evils of drunkenness follows here, which need not be inserted, since alas! even after the lapse of nearly seventeen centuries, the vice is still common enough to make its consequences but too well known.—"Well then has the apostle said, 'Be not drunk with wine, in which is a shameful licentiousness:' he seems to signify the impossibility of salvation (*σωτηρία*) to drunkenness, by the word *ἀσωτεία*, which, in Greek, means equally luxury, and an incapacity for salvation. And even if our Lord changed water into wine at the marriage feast, he did not permit excess: for as we take food to prevent hun-

ger, so we should drink only what is wanted to quench thirst; or in winter to give the needful circulation to the blood, if it become too languid. But for this what need to ask for Chian wine, if it be not at hand, or that of Ariusium, or any of those which are fetched from beyond sea, to satisfy a pampered palate? Is not the production of our own country good enough? and in this too a decorous conduct should be observed: not looking greedily at the liquor beforehand, nor drawing it in with open mouth, nor spilling it on the chin, nor on the vestments, in the hasty swallowing; nor wetting the face in the drinking cups by too much eagerness, nor making a guggling sound in the throat, like the pouring out of water from a narrow necked vessel, for all this is indecorous and unpleasant to witness. Add to this that the love of drink is hurtful to the person himself. The Scythians, Celts, Iberians, and Thracians drink much, being altogether warlike nations; but we, who are a peaceable race, take our meals for the satisfying of our wants, not for the sake of exciting passions; and drink soberly in friendly meetings. How do you imagine the Lord was wont to drink when for our sakes he was made man? Do you think it was in such an unseemly fashion as we

do? Do you not suppose it was politely—elegantly—reasonably? for we know that he too did partake of wine, since he too was a man: and he blessed the wine, saying, “take, drink, this is my blood:”—the blood of the vine—for he allegorically calls the Logos, which was poured out for the taking away of sins, the holy fountain of joy. And from what he so clearly taught respecting entertainments, we may learn, that even he who drinks wine, should do so with wise moderation; for it was no drunkard that taught us our lesson: yet that he was wont to drink wine is clear from the reproach of the Jews, ‘behold a glutton and a wine bibber.’”

C. 3. “Cups of gold and silver set out with precious stones are useless, and only made to please the eye: for if you would drink warm liquids out of them, the heat of the metal makes the handling them inconvenient; if cold, the quality of the vessel spoils the liquor, and thus the drink of the rich man becomes unwholesome. . . . These precious vases therefore, which are both rare to be acquired and difficult to be kept, after all are not good for use. And the art of the carver, exhibited with a vain pride in glass, which is only rendered thereby more apt to break, is to be put away from among us. Silver sofas, silver basins and saucers, plates and

dishes, beds of choice woods decorated with tortoise-shell and gold, with coverlets of purple and costly stuffs, are to be relinquished in like manner; for, as the apostle says, the time is short, and it remains that both they that have wives be as though they had none, and they that buy as though they possessed not. For this cause also the Lord hath said "Sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and come, follow me." That is, follow the Lord stripped of all ostentation, stripped of all perishable pomp: what is really thine is goodness:—the only thing which cannot be taken from thee, is, faith in God, and confession of him that suffered—the most precious possession is, benevolence towards thy fellow men. I therefore applaud Plato, who, when treating of laws, openly condemns such useless luxuries. If the vessel be of earth, will it not be equally useful for ablution? Shall we rest the worse, because our bed is not of ivory, or our coverlets tinted with Tyrian dyes? See now! The Lord ate from an humble dish; and reclined with his disciples on the grass; and washed their feet girded with a towel; the unproud* God and Lord of all

* ὁ ἀνυπόκ. The coinage of an expressive word to translate this may be forgiven, for we have none that will fully render it.

things brought no silver foot-bath from heaven for his use ;—when he asked for water from the Samaritan woman, he demanded no regal vase of gold to drink from. . . . In fine, our food, our clothing, our utensils, or whatever else may belong to our domestic economy, should be conformable to the Christian institutions, so that they may be such as will become, and are suited to the person, the time of life, the profession, and the period.”

C 4. “Far be from our rational social meetings the miscalled gaieties and facetiæ of the heathen, who are wont to excite the passions by wine, and lascivious songs, and dancing . . . all these things should be dismissed from our sober feasts . . . all indecent sights and sounds, or, to speak briefly, all excesses and intemperance of the senses ; for such excesses are, in fact, a privation of them, as far as regards their true use. We should, therefore, take care to avoid all effeminate pleasures, all tickling of the eyes and ears by licentious arts ;—the music that fills our thoughts should be the trump that will raise the dead, and our lyre should be a voice singing praises to God ; for man himself is the truest musical instrument for those who love peace. Those, indeed, who are curious in such things,

will find many kinds of music suited for different occasions ;—for war, and for awakening the passions, whether of love or rage. Thus the Tyrrenes in war use the trumpet, the Arcadians the pipe of Pan, the Sicilians the pipe called *πηκτις*, the Cretans the lyre, the Lacedæmonians the flute, the Thracians the horn, and the Arabs the cymbals : but we use one instrument only, —the peaceful word wherewith we render homage to God. Our drinking together for friendship, then, should be of a twofold nature, according to our law : for if thou lovest the Lord thy God, and thy neighbour as thyself, let thy first social feast be with God, through the Eucharist, accompanied by psalmody ;—the second with thy neighbour for the keeping up of friendship through an innocent and chaste familiarity. Thus the Apostle bids us let the Logos of the Lord dwell abundantly in us ; for this Logos is conformable to times, to persons, and to places, and on such occasions is the companion of our wine cups also ; so that thus all things may be sanctified to the glory of God, and the good of man : therefore let us put away from our feasts the unseemly excesses of drunken pleasures, the scattering of flowers, and the lascivious songs and music of unchaste women.

C. 5. "Mimics and buffoons * should find no place in our polity; for since words are the expression of the mind and manners, it is impossible that any one should speak ridiculously unless his mind and habits are ridiculous and frivolous also: for "the tree is not good which bears bad fruit, nor bad if it bear good fruit," and words are the fruit of the mind. If, therefore, we exclude those who make this their trade from our society, much more must we abstain from becoming buffoons ourselves; for it would be absurd indeed to imitate the impudence which we are forbidden to listen to or witness. We should never willingly make ourselves ridiculous: for how can we without blame study thus to abuse the peculiar and most precious gift of man—even reason and speech?—for it is so that through shameless words, men arrive at shameless actions. Let our speech, then, be elegant, and graced with wit, but without buffoonery; and our manners refined, not licentious; for to speak briefly, no one can or ought to extirpate the feelings and needs which belong

* Those who wish to know the kind of persons here alluded to, will find such a character depicted in Xenophon's Banquet.

to our animal nature, but they should be duly regulated, and indulged in the proper time and place. It is not because man is a laughing animal, that he is to be always laughing, any more than the horse is always neighing, though to neigh be natural to him. But neither, on the other hand, should we be melancholy and unsocial, though grave. I prefer him, indeed, whose gravity is occasionally lighted by smiles, since his laugh will never degenerate into unhandsome mirth; and if any thing unseemly come before him, he will blush rather than smile, shewing thereby no sympathy in what is evil: and if he hear of misfortune, he will appear sad rather than pleased at it, for this first is the mark of a wise and humane man, while the latter is that of a cruel and ill nature."

C. 6. "All indecent speech should not only be banished from our own society, but discouraged in others, by sternness of countenance, by turning away the face, by severe derision, and often by yet sharper words. For HE hath said, "Those things which go out of the mouth defile the man," and shew him to be a vulgar, untaught, licentious heathen, not, as is proper to man, well-mannered and sober-minded. And since vice corrupts by the hearing and the sight, the Divine

Tutor, like the masters of the palæstra, who place a guard over the ears of the youths lest they should be injured, places the guard of sober words over the ears of his pupils, that nothing entering there may hurt the soul, or convey to it the vibration of licentious sounds; and the sight he directs to the contemplation of proper objects, saying, it is better to fall by the feet than the eyes. And the Apostle, reprobating all immodest language, says, 'Let no indelicate word proceed out of your mouth, but rather what is good,' . . . for it is written, 'by thy words wilt thou be justified, and by thy words wilt thou be condemned.' And what then are these defences for the ears, and these securities for the wandering eyes? It is the conversation of good men, which pre-occupies the ground, and leaves no room for those who wish to mislead. 'Evil communications corrupt good manners,' says the poet;* and the Apostle expresses it in yet stronger terms. 'Hold evil in abhorrence,' says he, 'but stick close to the good.' Turn away, then, from every immodest sound, and word, and sight; and much more does it become you to be pure from every immodest action, whether in exposing the body indecently, or seeking such

* Menander.

sights. For this is the reason, it seems to me, that our Tutor permits us no indelicate language, that temptation to incontinence may be removed as far as possible, thus cutting up with a strong hand the very roots of evil, and forbidding not only the sin, but the inclination to it. And it is not in the mention of these things that the indelicacy lies, when they are mentioned but to be reprobated : neither are the members of the body in themselves indecent ; but the ill use we make of them renders them so, and hence we rightly call only that language indecent which dwells pleasurably on circumstances of evil."

C. 7. "Far, far be it from us to mock any one, for from this arise strifes, and fightings, and enmities. We hold that such scorn is the companions of drunkenness : and it is well said,* 'do not argue with your neighbour at a feast, neither speak any uncivil word towards him,' for if the invitation to these meetings be given out of kindly feeling, the object of the feast is the promotion of friendship among the guests, and a mental grace thus attends the satisfaction of the bodily appetite. If then we meet for the promotion of good-will towards each other, how is it that buried enmities are dug up again by

* Ecclus. xxxi. 31.

scornful jests? Better is it to be silent than to contradict, since by this last we run the hazard of adding sin to ill manners . . . On the whole I advise, that young people of both sexes should absent themselves from such banquets,* in order that they may not fall into improprieties; for the unusual things they hear, and the improper sights presented to them on such occasions, while as yet their faith is fluctuating, and their very age prevents firmness of character, tend to make their declension towards vice more likely. Well does the wise man say 'Do not sit with a married woman, nor recline upon thine elbow beside her'—that is, do not frequent suppers, nor eat often with her: for, he adds, 'neither meet with her in wine parties, lest thy heart incline to her, and thy blood push thee to destruction.' And if a woman be invited, so that there is a necessity that she should go, then let her make her outward vestment a decent and modest covering, and within it carry an equal modesty in her heart. But for single women, it is an extreme disgrace to be present at a banquet of men in a state of intoxication."

* i. e. Those of the heathen, or where the practices of the heathen were allowed.

The writer goes on to give minute directions for a decent and proper behaviour in company, recommending quiet and reserved manners; and deprecating all eagerness about food, all boisterous laughter or rude speech, through a long chapter which shows sufficiently the refinement of manners which formed a part of the character of the Christian in his opinion: a notion apparently taken up* from the contemplation of the politeness and refinement, joined with a noble simplicity, which characterized the manners of that perfect pattern of what man should be, which was then fresh in the recollection of all.

Space will not allow of larger extracts from this part: enough perhaps has been given to show that he who practises Christianity, such as it was when fresh from the lips and example of its Teacher, will want no factitious rules of politeness;—the perfect Christian is the perfect gentleman also;—and the world has allowed this by the set of rules it has established as to manners, which teach men to attain by art and habit, what they would find to result naturally from that admiration and imitation of their Great Exemplar, which it was his object on earth to

* See l. ii. c. 2.

secure. He came to raise man to a higher state of being, and the refinement and spiritualization of the mind produces a correspondent refinement of manners.

C. 8. Is devoted to the reproof of excessive luxury in perfumes and garlands of flowers. It appears that it was the custom to perfume not only the garments, the hair, and the skin, but also the house, beds, and utensils of all kinds: while the fields he says were stripped of flowers to form garlands that withered on the head, and by their excessive odour almost stupified the senses.

C. 9. Forbids a no less excessive luxury in the construction of beds, which appear to have been made of carved ivory, with silver feet, in curious imitation of animals or reptiles; to which were added coverlets embroidered with gold, and every other costly ornament which the wealth of a great commercial city was likely to bring into use. All this the Christian was to forego, satisfying himself with the requisite sleep and food, without being anxious for the body; but rather "keeping the mind intent upon God . . . that man may attain to the grace bestowed on the angels, spending the hours stolen from sleep in striving after life eternal."

C. 10. Treats of marriage—"its purpose is the bringing forth of children, but its main object (*τέλος*) is the bringing up of *good* children." Marriage therefore is to be contracted with a view to the glory of God and the happiness of man, by multiplying the number of heirs to immortality: not from motives of interest or sensuality, and when contracted is to be truly and virtuously observed.

C. 11 and 12. Enjoin moderation in dress.

BOOK III.

C. 1.

TREATS of true beauty.—"It appears to me that the greatest and best of all learning is the knowledge of ourselves; for if any one arrive at knowing himself, he will know God also; and he who knows God, endeavours to resemble him: not wearing gold and long vestments; but doing good and keeping his bodily wants in small compass For the man with whom the Logos is a fellow lodger, is become like God; and is fair without striving to appear so. This is real beauty. Heraclitus said truly,

‘Men are gods, gods, men;’ and this mystery is made clear in the Logos, for God was in man and man was God, and the will of the Father perfects the internuntius, namely the Logos, who is common to both.* The Son of God, the Saviour of men; the minister of the one, the teacher of the other. And the flesh being in servitude, as Paul testifies, how can we ornament the slave? ... But the sympathizing God himself set free the flesh from the slavery of corruption and death, bestowing on it the gift of incorruption, and ornamenting it with the beauty of eternity, even immortality. And another beauty of man is love (*ἀγάπη*), for love, according to the Apostle, “suffereth long and is kind, envieth not, is not rash, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own.”†

C. 2. “It is not therefore the outward appear-

* I have not dared to do more than *translate* these words: the sense appears to be that the Logos being perfect God joined to perfect man, he stood between the two worlds, making God’s will manifest to men, which could only be known by means of human speech:—and giving man, in turn, a resting place for his mind, whence he might address God.

† 1 Cor xiii. 4. 8,

ance of man, but the soul that should be beautified with the ornament of goodness: indeed it may be said that the flesh also should have the ornament of temperance. Women who are anxious for a fair exterior, and leave the interior uncultivated, try to conceal the ugliness of their souls after the fashion of the Egyptians; among whom you find temples with porticos, and vestibules, and sacred groves;—and their halls are surrounded with numberless columns, and the walls are resplendent with foreign stones and skilful paintings, and the temples are brilliant with gold and silver and amber, and many coloured gems from India and Æthiopia, and the adyta are shaded with gold-embroidered hangings;—but if you go into the deep interior of the place, and eagerly seek to see what you suppose will be most worth your attention,—the statue which occupies the temple:—a priest of grave aspect, from among those who sacrifice in the holy place, singing a pæan in the Egyptian tongue, lifts the veil a little, as if to show the God; and then there is much room for laughter at the deity honoured; for you will not find the God that you are seeking within, but a cat, or a crocodile, or a serpent of the country, or some such animal; unworthy of the temple, but fitted for

a cavern, or a den, or a marsh; you see the beast rolling upon purple coverlets, and this is the god of the Egyptians. Those women, therefore, who cover themselves with gold, and exercise themselves in curling their hair, and anointing their cheeks, and pencilling their eyes, and twisting their locks, and all the other ill arts of idleness, to ornament the fleshly case, appear to me to be true Egyptians in their proceedings; they attract superstitious lovers, but when the veil of the temple is lifted, I mean the fillets and the vestments, the gold, the paint, and the ceruse;—that is, the covering which is made of these, as if there were true beauty within—all is abominable I well know. You will not there find the image of God placed in the sanctuary, as is fitting, but an adulterous soul inhabits the adytum, and shows itself the real beast: the ape daubed white,—and the old seducing serpent, corroding the mind by the love of admiration, has the soul for its cavern, and fills it with poison and as cataplasms and ointments usually announce to us that the person is ill who is thus treated; so the medicaments and coverings above mentioned, indicate the sickness of the soul for them are needful the theatre, and public processions, and abundance of

gazers, and they must loiter through the temples, and walk in the streets, so that they may be seen by all. Such persons take a pride in an appearance that shall captivate the eyes of others, not in the right affections of the heart."

C. 3. The writer reproves the passion for ornament in the male sex also, which among the Greeks had long been carried to great excess. It may be here noticed, once for all, that the practices of the heathen were such as, thanks to the purifying influences of Christianity, we now shrink from even the mention of: and if the stern reproof of the ambassador on Christ's behalf touch upon subjects which the refinement of modern manners has banished from any expression in words, let us not condemn the preacher who lashed the vices of paganism with the severity that they deserved, and won men to Christ by the contrast he presented to their minds between the impurities then in daily practice, and the purity of Christianity;—but rather thank God, who by his presence on earth, first checked the foul disease of society;—and next to God, those fearless martyrs who scrupled not to hold up before emperors and proconsuls, a faithful picture of their manners. The wide difference between the state of things now and then,

affords the best comment on their labours ; for vice now hides itself from the public gaze, and no longer intrudes itself upon the innocent.

C. 4. Follows up the subject ; and the writer points out the persons whose society was to be avoided, in order to the preservation of Christian purity. It affords a frightful picture of the state of society, disgusting indeed to the reader, but not without its value, even now ; for it shows us what we have been rescued from, and affords fresh ground of thankfulness for that heavenly love which condescended to show man what he might and should be. The allusions constantly made by the Fathers of the first and second centuries to Christ as *a man*, amiable, polished, and attractive in his manners, testify sufficiently to the influence of the example during the period when his actual human life was remembered, even traditionally. It were to be wished that we still pictured to ourselves the individual *man* whom God himself made our “ensample,” more than that mysterious Logos which seems to have especially chosen a human form for the purpose of communication with man, in order that finite faculties might not be overpowered by the contemplation of the Infinite. The human nature of Christ is needful to man as a stepping-stone

by which to approach God, and we should use it as such.

C. 5. Relates to the use of the bath, and condemns the common heathen practice which allowed the two sexes to bathe together.

C. 6 and 7. Show that the Christian is rich in all that constitutes man's best wealth, and recommend a prudent frugality.

C. 8, 9, 10. Continue the same subjects.

C. 11. Sums up the rules already given with regard to the common affairs of life. "The use of gold ornaments and soft ointments" says the writer, "is not to be wholly proscribed; but in that, as in all else, a due moderation is to be observed; curbing these irrational tastes lest they should lead us into a life of luxury, to the neglect of better things." "But it will be said, 'we are not all philosophers'—do you then not seek after life either? what is it you mean? or how is it that you believe? How can any one love God and his neighbour without being a philosopher in the best sense of the word? or how can he love himself without also loving life? But he may say 'I have not learned letters,' but even if he have not learned to read, this does not prevent you from learning by hearing; for you are in the profession of the learned in the

wisdom of this world only, but of those who are wise according to God ; for this is a learning which requires no letters ; and its book, which is at once divine, and intelligible to the most ignorant, is called LOVE. . . . There is nothing to hinder the administering the affairs of this world at once handsomely and according to the will of God ; as, for instance, he who buys or sells must never make use of two prices, but should be careful to speak the truth. . . . Let not him who sells swear to the goodness of his wares, and let him avoid oaths also in other things ; and in this the market man and the tavern keeper may be philosophers, for it is written, use not the name of the Lord in vain matters, for the Lord will not hold him pure who brings his name forward on vain occasions. It is proper that both the woman and the man should come into the church decently dressed ; with no studied steps ; in silence, and with a mind trained to real benevolence ; chaste in body ; chaste in heart ; fitted to pray to God. Furthermore, it is right that the woman should be veiled, save when she is at home ; for this is respectable and avoids offence. And it is desirable not to adopt these manners for the occasion merely, but to imitate during the whole of life the con-

duct of those whom Christ has made perfect, and be really, and not in appearance only, gentle, and reverend, and kind. Now, I know not how, the manners and appearance seem to change with the place, as polypi are said to change colour according to the stones they are fixed on ; and those persons who have seemed devout while in the place of congregation, put away their apparent change of manners when they leave it, and assimilate themselves to the multitude with whom they are in daily intercourse ; or rather, they are to be accused of having put on a feigned holiness, hiding their real disposition : and thus those who have heard the word of God with a show of reverence, leave what they have heard behind them when they quit the place, and resume the evil habits of the heathen."

C. 12. Proves the foregoing rules of conduct from passages of Scripture, and concludes with the following prayer, " Be propitious to thine own children, O Master ! Father ! Charioteer of Israel ! Son and Father both one ! Lord ! Give to us that follow thy commands, that we may be filled with the likeness of the image, and feel the power of the good God, of the mild Judge ! and grant that those whose lives are guided according to thy peace, may be placed in

thy city, and sailing over the rolling waves of sin, may be borne quietly on by thy Holy Spirit with the wisdom which is ineffable :—nightly, after the day is past, till the perfect day again, giving thanks and praising, praising and giving thanks, to the One Father and Son, Son and Father, Tutor and Teacher Son, with the Holy Spirit ; for which One all things exist, in whom are all things, through which One are all things, through whom is eternity, of whom we all are members, for whose honour are all ages. The Good in all things—the Fair in all things—The Wise in all things—The Just in all things. To whom be honour now and for ever. Amen.”





STROMATA.—BOOK I.

HAVING treated at length on the conduct to be observed by the new converts to Christianity through all the affairs of life, the writer next proceeds to trace the character of what he calls the *γυνωστικός*, or perfect Christian : of one, namely, who, having long endeavoured to regulate his life by the precepts of his Lord, has step by step advanced to a complete amalgamation of his own pleasure, and will, and intentions, with those of the Divine Person in whose steps he has been treading, and thus may be said to possess the key of true science. Other things are mentioned incidentally, and the writer shows, by a reference to the ancient systems of philosophy, that the light afforded to the Gentiles as well as the Jews, was of the kind best calculated to prepare them for that more perfect dispensation, which, affording to all the assurance of what till then had been but hopes, was to finish the civilization of the world ; so that, thenceforward, the knowledge and refinement which had seemed to be the privilege of the few, might become the

birthright of the many. He thus explains the purport of his work.

C. 1. " I am not unaware of the things that are murmured among some ignorantly timid persons, who say that it is incumbent on us to apply simply to the matters pertaining to the faith, but that external and superfluous things—i. e. gentile learning—are to be passed over, for that it is vain to trouble ourselves with what is useless towards our great object. These consider philosophy to be the pest of life, and think it was discovered by some evil mind for the bane of men ; I, on the contrary, think that ill weeds cannot be sown by a good husbandman, and in these books which I term *Stromata*, I shall show that there are abundant indications of the divine origin of Philosophy."

C. 2. " With regard to the works of those who, according to the necessity of the times, had embraced the Greek opinions, I thus reply to the lovers of objection. Whether philosophy be useful or not, it is at least useful to have some firm opinion on the subject ; and therefore the study is not without its value : neither can the Greeks be fairly condemned by those who have merely glanced over their writings, since they cannot be understood by any who have not care-

fully perused them, and unveiled, as it were, the science there taught. For amid their many modes of teaching, their disciples were at least led towards true principles; nor can that philosophy be pernicious, as some contend, by which it is clear that the image of truth—that divine gift—was bestowed upon the Greeks.”

C. 5. “Indeed, before the coming of the Lord, philosophy was needful to the Greeks for the purification of their lives, (*εἰς δικαιοσύνην*), and even now it is useful towards piety, as supplying a rudimentary teaching for those who may afterwards receive the faith upon conviction. For God is indeed the cause of all good things: of some pre-eminently and immediately, as of the old and new covenant: of others mediately, by means of reason and argument; as philosophy, which probably he gave to the Greeks before the Lord himself came, in order to call them also to his service. For philosophy acted the part of a schoolmaster to the Greeks, as the Mosaic law did to the Jews, for the purpose of bringing men to Christ; thus preparing the way for such as were to be farther perfected by him. We know that the way of truth is one only; but into it, as into a great river, many streams flow from different quarters.”

C. 7. " It appears, therefore, that the Greek rudimentary instruction came from heaven to man : not, indeed, as I said before, pre-eminently and immediately ; but as the showers which fall from heaven light on all parts but cause the growth of very different plants—in some cherishing the produce of a good soil, in others causing a vegetation which soon dries up—so it may be conceived of this. And here the parable of the sower is useful to us : for there is one spiritual husbandman for the human field, who from the foundation of the world sows good seed in it and who waters it according to the various periods, with the Lord, the Logos : but at different times and seasons the crop is different for the husbandman does not sow wheat alone,—there being many sorts of useful grain,—but it may be barley, or beans, or peas, or seeds of garden vegetables and flowers. So also may the art of the agriculturist be bestowed in the raising of forest or fruit trees, or in the feeding of different kinds of cattle : the arts differ ; but are all, in their various ways, useful to life. Thus, therefore, it is in philosophy,—I do not speak of this or that sect merely,—whatever is taught, by all or any of them, that conduces to piety and wisdom, I term divine ; not that part of it which

onsists of logical questions and paradoxes. . . . The roads to righteousness are many and various, for God, being good, saves in many different ways. If indeed thou wouldst ask the royal and authentic road, thou mayst hear, ' This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous may enter therein, ' for though many gates be open, this peculiar one is unlocked by Christ himself, and blessed are they who are able to enter it, and direct their steps towards well understood holiness (*ἐν ἰσότητι γνωστικῇ*)."

C. 9. " Some indeed who think themselves well gifted naturally, will not so much as touch philosophy or dialectics, but not choosing to learn any thing from the study of nature, require to have the single and naked faith : as if one should scorn the culture of the vine, determined to have only the grapes. Yet the Lord makes the vine an allegory ; from it, by care, and the art of the husbandman wisely bestowed, the fruit is to be obtained ; it must be dug, and cultivated, and tied, and pruned ; and after employing all the tools and the art of the husbandman, we obtain a good crop. And if it be said that the prophets and apostles did not know the arts by which philosophy exercises the mind, it must be recollected that they were taught by the

prophetic spirit telling them hidden things ; because as quickness of perception is not given to all, it was necessary, for the clearness of their teaching, that they should themselves be instructed. . . . What say these objectors then ? That it is proper to speak and act without reason ? * we shall act unreasonably then ; but all rational acts are done through God, ' and nothing was done without him,' it is said ; namely, nothing was done without the Logos (reason) of God. And did not the Lord do all according to reason ? (λόγῳ.) Beasts indeed work, compelled to it by fear ; but do those whom we call orthodox, proceed in good works without knowing what they are doing ? ”

C. 10. After recommending a decent attention to rhetoric, so as to be able to expound the truth effectually, but cautioning his readers, at the same time, against the endless arts of the sophist, he adds, that “ speech is but as the vestment of the body, actions are the bones and the nerves the Gnostic therefore will be satisfied if he finds even one willing to listen to him and profit by his teaching.”

* οὐχὶ . . . ἐκ τοῦ λόγου γίνεται ; a play upon the word Logos.

C. 13. "If then, however numerous the modes of error, the truth be but one, we may imagine the different sects of philosophy, as well barbarian as Greek, seizing on it as the Bacchantes seized on Pentheus, and, having torn it piecemeal, each carrying off a part, and then vaunting itself of possessing the whole. Yet I think the dawn of that light in the east, illuminated them all; for it may be shown that all who were eager for the truth, whether Greeks or barbarians, did in fact carry off, some not a little, of that word of truth which they sought . . . the fragments of which being again united, the perfect Logos, or Truth, is then securely seen and known: for he who can properly be called a Gnostic (i. e. well-instructed Christian) must be well imbued with all knowledge."

C. 17. "But, say some, it is written that all teachers before the coming of the Lord were thieves and robbers: yet the prophets who were of old time sent and inspired by the Lord, were not robbers, but ministers. But philosophy, say they, was not sent by the Lord, but stole what it taught. But do we not say that he who having power to prevent a robbery, permits it, is in some sort the cause of it? Now nothing can be an obstacle to God, or oppose itself to

Him; for He is the Lord and Ruler of all things: and those, even, who may be partly in apostacy from Him, are made use of by his providence, as the physician uses diseases, curing perhaps an inflammation by a blister. Thus the Providence which is over the whole prevents the acts done by man's free-will from being sources of harm, or even useless towards good: for the wisdom, and excellence, and power of the Deity is not seen alone in his doing good, for that may be said to be as much the nature of God, as it is that of fire to warm, or of light to illuminate; but chiefly in this, that the things which are devised for evil by the ill-intentioned, are caused by him to finish in what is good and useful; and thus he makes that serviceable, which at first appeared useless, or bad. Thus even if philosophy should have been stolen by a theft, like that of Prometheus, it has in it some spark of fire ready for kindling a light from the embers, —a track of Divine Wisdom to mark the way towards God."

BOOK II.

C. 2.

“THE philosophy of the barbarians,* which we follow, is in fact the perfect and true system : in it is included the contemplation of nature, and of all that passes in the world of sensible objects, as well as what is purely intellectual. Its doctrines, accompanied by a rightly ordered polity and discipline, lead us, through that wisdom which is the artificer of all things, towards the Great Ruler of the universe ; who is indeed difficult to be apprehended, and hard to be searched out, since he seems always to be receding from our senses as we advance, and always to be at a distance from the pursuer. Yet He, being thus afar off, voluntarily approaches us :—an inexpressible wonder ! ‘I am a God near at hand, saith the Lord’—far off indeed, as to his nature, for how can the created approach the uncreated ? but near by his power, which embraces all things. ‘If any one doeth

* The reader need hardly be reminded that all who were not Greeks were termed *barbarians* by the Greek writers.

a secret thing,' says he, 'do not I, the Lord, see it?' He is present to us in the overlooking, beneficent, instructing power which, as it were, leads us by the hand; even the power of God. Wherefore Moses, persuaded that God could never be thoroughly known by human wisdom, said 'Show me thyself'—and forced himself to enter into the darkness where was the voice of God: that is, into the hidden and mysterious knowledge of the Self-existent. But the place of God is not in the darkness, but beyond all place, and time, or any property of created things: dwelling in no part, neither contained, nor circumscribed. 'How will ye build a house for me? saith the Lord'—for he is boundless; and the heavens are called his throne, not because he is there, but because his benevolence rests with pleasure upon his work. It is evident then, that the truth is veiled; yet one specimen of it being shown, that one will soon guide us to more: how indeed should those not receive it who are both able and willing to learn? and he who has before acquired wisdom, will, through this knowledge,* become wiser; for it is not the

* *κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν* by the gnosis, or last stage of Christian initiation.

drossy ore of reason that is propounded by the words and the men inspired by God, neither do they twine nets to entangle the young, like the sophists; who, after all, are unable to teach any thing of real truth; for they who possess the Holy Spirit investigate the deep things of God. But it is not for those whose lives are ill regulated, to drink of that pure fountain of living water. Well did the excellent Heracleitus say that 'there are many who neither know what is passing within themselves, nor, when taught, become wiser, otherwise than in their own conceit, —and does not the philosopher seem here to blame the unbeliever? The faith which the Greeks call barbarian, and accuse of being empty, and vain, is a voluntary devotion of the mind to unseen things;* the full assent of piety, 'the foundation (ὑποστασις) of things hoped for; the argumentative proof (ἐλεγχος) of things not seen,' as says the divine apostle. . . . Since then we make a choice when we find a thing desirable, the desire for it is an act of the mind,

* πρόληψις ἐκέσιος. This was a term well known in philosophy, particularly in the Epicurean school; πρόληψις is, by the Epicureans, explained to be, "the representation of unseen things to the mind." Vide Diog. Laert. in vit. Epicuri.

and is in fact an appetite of the intellect :—and if a free choice be the great principle of action in man, then faith will also be found to be an active principle. The foundation indeed of a wise choice is some previous demonstration, and it is made in consequence of our faith or belief in that demonstration ; for the great principle of all prudence is the willingly following some beneficial course. It is indeed of great moment to the last stage of our Christian life (*εἰς γνῶσιν*) to make a resolute choice : for thus the early contemplations of faith become a science fixed on an immutable foundation. Philosophers define science to be—a habit of mind firmly founded in reason ; and is there any other definition of true piety, which has for its only teacher the Divine Reason? (*ὁ Λόγος*.) I think not.”

C. 3. “ But the followers of Basileides contend that faith is a natural gift ; for that being the consequence of a præelection to salvation, its teaching is without demonstration, and consists only in an intellectual comprehension. The disciples of Valentinus differ somewhat, and allowing us simple people our faith, claim for themselves, who by nature are heirs to salvation, the

γνῶσις,* or perfect knowledge, which they set as high above faith as the spiritual is above the animal. The disciples of Basileides say farther, that faith and election are the same thing; that the whole constitution of earthly faith is consequent on a supra-mundane election, and that thus the hope of every one may be regulated by the sum of faith which is bestowed upon him. But if faith be thus an advantage bestowed in our natural constitution, how can it be the good work of a free choice? and how can he who does not believe, receive a just retribution for his wilful rejection of God's truths? since he is as much without choice in the matter as the believer: and faith and unbelief, having thus no proper difference, neither can incur either praise or blame, if we rightly consider; for both are led to their conclusion by a physical necessity, guided by the overwhelming power of Him who created all things: and the inclination, which is the prime mover in all matters of choice, thus

* The γνῶσις or knowledge, thus claimed, gave to this sect the title of Gnostics: they seem in the first instance to have been strong predestinarians: afterwards many strange notions respecting the Deity were added to their doctrines.

remains wholly idle. . . . But, for my part, I know no animal whose internal will is thus overruled by external necessity; and if it were so, what would become of that repentance of the unbeliever through which he obtains the deliverance from his sins?"

C. 4. "But we, who have received from scripture the doctrine that a full power of choice or rejection has been bestowed on us by the Lord, remain in the faith upon a steady conviction, showing that our spirit is eagerly bent on the attainment of the true life, and that we have believed the voice of God. For he who has believed the Logos, or Divine Reason, knows that the thing is true, for the Logos is truth. There are four things, indeed, in which truth may exist,—in the senses, in the mind, in science, and in opinion:—from the union of the mind and sense results science; for the same evidence is common to the mind and to the senses, and sensible things form the steps towards science: but faith, though coming by the road of the senses, leaves uncertain opinion behind; hastening forwards towards what is free from falsehood, and having reached the truth it remains firm. And if any one should say that science is demonstrable by reason, let him understand that

first principles are not demonstrable, and are due neither to art nor study, but remain as necessary axioms. The principle and beginning of all things in science as well as elsewhere, must be faith—belief, that is, in some indemonstrable propositions. . . . Science, then, is a habit of demonstration; faith, a grace bestowed, which, through indemonstrable things, proceeds to the universal simple principle, which neither exists with matter, nor is matter, nor subsists in matter. Unbelievers indeed, as it appears, would drag heaven and the invisible world down to earth, till they could handle it like stones and wood, as Plato says. For all such things they can touch; and they affirm that nothing that is without tangibility and other sensible properties, has any existence at all: defining body and existence to be the same; yet they nevertheless contradict themselves, by allowing that there is something incorporeal and perceptible only by the mind, which they term species or idea.”

“In like manner as, in order to learn the art of a mechanic, it is needful, not merely to wish to become a good workman, but to observe his mode of doing things, and obediently to follow his teaching; so the believing in the Logos, whom we term our Master, consists in obedience

to his precepts, withstanding him in nothing : for how indeed can we withstand God ? Knowledge (γνώσις) therefore is faith, and faith is knowledge, for by some divine arrangement they mutually lead and are led by each other, in perfect companionship. Epicurus . . . considers πρόληψις * to be the faith of the mind ; and he defines this word to mean, an application of the mind to something evident, and the understanding of the thing thus evident to us : no one can either search, or doubt, or be of any opinion, or argue a point without this previous apprehension of the subject (χωρίς πρόληψεως). How indeed should any one either seek or learn unless he knows beforehand that there is something to be sought or learned ? But he who learns, changes this anticipation (πρόληψιν) into comprehension (κατάληψιν), and if he who learns, knows what is desirable to be learnt by means of this anticipating knowledge, he has ears capable of receiving the truth. Blessed is he then who speaks to ears capable of thus hearing, and as certainly blessed is he who is, in like manner, able to hear and to obey ; for so to hear is to understand. If faith then be nothing

* πρόληψις strictly means a laying hold of beforehand.

more than this *πρόληψις* of the understanding as to the things spoken, and this be obedience; and if intelligence of the matter be persuasion; then no one learns without faith, because none can learn without this forefeeling; and thus what the prophet says* is shown to be true, 'Unless ye believe ye cannot understand;' and thus too Heracleitus the Ephesian has paraphrased the same idea, saying, 'Unless a man hopes, he will not find what he did not hope.'"

C. 6. "To will is the work of the soul; action cannot be accomplished without the body.—Repentance† is a tardy knowledge of what is right, but the *γνώσις* properly speaking, is innocence from the first.‡ Repentance, then, is the good work of faith, for if a man does not believe that to be sin by which he was at first held captive, he will not endeavour to get free; and if he does not believe punishment to hang over the trans-

* Is. vii. 9.

† *μετάνοια* is an after perception: the derivation of the word affords room for a play upon it, which Clement at all times delights in.

‡ In all these cases the writer refers to the then state of the world: the first innocence here spoken of is the early profession of Christianity, the repentance is the change from heathen, to Christian belief and practice.

gressor,—salvation to be the portion of him who lives according to the Divine precepts,—neither will he alter. For hope springs from faith. The followers of Basileides define faith to be the consent of the soul to something which does not move the sense, because it is not present. But hope is the expectation of possession, and faith also is necessarily expectation; but he is the believer who keeps, without transgressing, the things committed to him: for God commits to us his words, and these divine words are his precepts, to which must be joined the faithful observation of them. Such a believer is the faithful servant, (δῦλος ὁ πιστός) whom the Lord praises.

“Let not the faith then be any longer hastily reproached by the heathen as simple, and vulgar, and every day:—for if it were of human institution, as the Greeks imagine, it would ere this have come to nought; but if, on the contrary, it increases till there is no place where it is not, I say that this faith, whether it be founded on love, or whether, as some say, on fear,—is at any rate divine; since it can neither be enticed nor dragged away by the love of the world, nor dissolved by present fear . . . Faith is the foundation of love (ἀγάπη), which in its turn leads

to beneficence. The change then, by which an unbeliever becomes a believer, holding the faith in fear and hope, is clearly divine; faith gives us the first tendency to seek salvation, after that come fear, and hope, and repentance;—and self command and patience going first, lead us to perfect love and knowledge.* Well, therefore, says the apostle Barnabas, ‘What I have received in part, I am diligent to send to you by little and little, that with your faith you may possess perfect knowledge’ (τελείαν γνῶσιν), and the coadjutors of our faith are fear and patience; our allies are equanimity and self command; and if we remain holily and chastely in the practice of things pertaining to the Lord, with these virtues we shall find, that wisdom, intelligence, science, and perfect knowledge (γνῶσις) will be joyfully associated. The elements of this last stage of Christian knowledge being the before mentioned virtues, it is clear that the most important element of all must be the faith which is as necessary to the Gnostic as breath is to life;

* ἐπὶ τε ἀγάπην, ἐπὶ τε γνῶσιν. i. e. to the last stage of the Christian initiation, in which the believer became one with the Divine Logos;—wise and affectionate as the well remembered Saviour.

for as without the four elements we cannot exist, so neither without faith can we attain to the Gnosis. And this is the basis of the truth."

C. 7. "But say some, fear is an irrational passion. How say you? can this definition avail when the commandment is given me by reason (*διὰ λόγου*), for the commandment holds fear over us as a part of discipline, in order that through it we may grow wise. Fear therefore is not irrational, but rather rational, when it persuades to such things as not to kill, not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to bear false witness . . . We will see what are the things which the law bids us fear: for they are not those things which are neither vice nor virtue, such as poverty, sickness, and the like . . . but real evils, such as adultery, and other vices of that kind,—ignorance,—injustice, that sickness of the soul,—death;—not that death which separates soul and body, but that death whereby the soul is separated from the truth. These are, indeed, great and fearful evils, as well as the actions which proceed from them.

"How should the law not be good which has Christ for its teacher, and which leads us, through its salutary fear, to perfection through Christ? 'I will not the death of a sinner,' says he, 'but

rather his repentance.' . . . And I think he calls ignorance, death."

C. 9. "And this fear leads both to repentance and to hope: for hope is that confident looking for of the absent good which lays hold on whatever falls out, for a cause of pleasant anticipation: and this we have learned to improve into love. And this love (*ἀγάπη*) consists in a perfect union of purpose between the reason and the life and actions; or to speak briefly, in the *one mindedness* of life; or in a wide spreading friendship and kindness joined to right reason in the usage of our companions. Hence we call those *brothers* who are born again by the agency of the same Word (*τῷ αὐτῷ λογῷ*). And in this love also is included hospitality, which is a studied kindness towards strangers Since then these virtues mutually accompany each other, what use is there in many words? for we have already shown that faith hopes through repentance; and believes through solicitude; and that patience and exercise in these things, united with instruction, will produce love, which is the completion of knowledge The Deity alone is wise by nature; and the Wisdom, which is the power of God, is the teacher of the truth. Therefore the philosopher also who loves the

truth, is for that love to be accounted a friend."

C. 10. "*Our* philosopher then requires these three things for the completion of his character: first, the view of the truth; secondly, the fulfilment of the commandments; thirdly, the instruction of good men; and when these all come together the Gnostic is completed. But if any of these be wanting, his knowledge is lame."

C. 11. "He therefore, who is a true Gnostic, abstains from the sins of reason and speech, of understanding, of sense, and of action; having heard that he who looks with desire commits adultery in his heart: and having well fixed in his mind that 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,' and that 'not what goeth in at the mouth polluteth a man, but that rather which goeth out of the mouth;—for from the heart cometh our conversation' Faith and complete knowledge of the truth teach the soul which receives them to be steady in itself: but the companions of falsehood are change, declensions, apostacy, as those of the Gnostic are tranquillity, permanence, peace."

C. 12. "In faith as in time, since both are two-parted, we find two indwelling virtues; for the past time has memory, the future has hope; and we believe that as the past has happened, so

the future will ; and again, we love as having possessed the past, and holding the future by faith. The Gnostic then, who knows the One God, finds love engendered in himself by all the things around him. ' And behold all things that he made were very good.' He knows this and wonders."

C. 17. " It seems to me that we never cease to understand the Scriptures carnally, continually referring to our own passions the will of the passionless God ; supposing it to be guided by emotions like our own : but if we are capable of supposing such to be the case with the great Creator of all things, we err atheistically. As for the constitution of the Divinity, no one is capable of explaining it thoroughly : in order, however, that we, who are in the bonds of the flesh, might understand as much as we are able to do, he spoke to us by the prophets ; the Lord accommodating himself thus savingly to the weakness of man. Since then, it is the will of God to save him who obeys His commands and repents of his sins, we rejoice over our salvation ; and the Lord who spake by the prophets, appropriates to himself our joy ; as he does in the Gospel, where speaking as a lover of man, he says, ' I was hungry and ye gave me to eat, I

was thirsty and ye gave me to drink . . . foras-much as ye did it unto the least of these ye did it unto me'—As then He who needs no food is said to be nourished by the food bestowed on those whom he wishes to be nourished, so He rejoices who is incapable of change of mood, because the repentant sinner, whom he wishes to be happy, has joy in his own repentance. God then being good, and abundantly compassionating his creatures, he gave them commandments through the law and through the prophets, and now more specially by the presence of the Son, saving and pitying the miserable."

C. 19. "The true Gnostic having been made in the image and likeness of God, imitates him as far as he is able, and omits nothing to increase the likeness which has been bestowed upon him; being continent, patient, just in his life, master of his passions, ready to impart what he has, and as far as in him lies, doing good both by word and deed. 'He,' says the scripture, 'is greatest in the kingdom,' who both acts and teaches; imitating God in a like beneficence, for the gifts of God are available for all. . . . To be made in the image and the likeness of God, therefore, does not imply any bodily likeness; for it is not lawful to compare

the mortal to the immortal, but the resemblance lies in the mind and reason ; on which the Lord has stamped his impress, both in the desire to do good, and the power to rule."

C. 20. "Self-command too strives after the divine likeness, so as by patience to arrive almost at a state of impassibility, as may be seen in the example of Daniel . . . and this patience the Gnostic will possess, in so far as he is what his name imports. If he be troubled, he will bless God, like excellent Job . . . if he be cast into the fire, he will not feel it: in word, in life, in manners, he will testify his faith; he lives with God, and is his constant companion in spirit; pure as to the flesh, pure in heart, holy in his speech: the world is crucified to him, and he to the world: he bears the cross of his Saviour about with him, following in his steps; and is become like God, holy among the holy."

C. 23. "The next thing to be treated of is marriage. This institution is the first legitimate conjunction of the man and the woman for the purpose of bringing up children. We ask, then, is it expedient to marry? This is one of the things which may be characterized according to circumstances, for it may be well for a man to marry, as he finds circumstances make it de-

sirable, or for a woman to do the like : but it is not needful for any to marry any, without concern as to who or what the wife or husband may be ; rather is it right that the means, and the character, and the circumstances which may render it proper or improper, and the well-being of children should be considered, and that there be a thorough likeness of taste and disposition, so that the love which ought to be free, shall not be a matter of force and necessity on the part of the wife. . . . Democritus objected to marriage on account of the trouble attending the bringing up of children, and other cares incident to that state. . . . Others say, ‘ he who is without children has not completed the perfection of his nature, having no successor in whom he is perpetuated . . . altogether, therefore, marriage is desirable both for the benefit of our country, and for the succession of human beings, and for the perfecting the world as far as in us lies. . . Even our sickness and our wants point to marriage as their solace, for where is the friend whose sympathy equals that of a wife ? In fact the scripture calls the wife a needful assistance. . . . Marriage too is a comfort as age advances, for then the children cherish the declining years of their parents. . . . Marriage then, is to be

kept pure, like some spotless image in its temple, carefully guarded from all pollution, so that in the morning we may awake with the Lord, and lie down to sleep at night with thanksgiving, testifying to the Lord with our whole lives, possessing piety in our souls, and extending our discretion even to the body."

BOOK III.

C. 6.

"**T**HERE are some heretics who decry marriage altogether . . . and boast themselves to be herein imitators of the Lord. But this is vain glory, and to them the scripture speaks, saying, 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.' And to those who abhor marriage, the blessed Paul has said, 'In the latter times some will apostatize from the faith, listening to erring spirits . . . forbidding to marry, and abstaining from food'—and again he says, 'Let no one abase you into a voluntary system of humility, and parsimony towards the body.'—Many have had children living chastely in matrimony. Peter and Philip both had families, and Philip, again, gave his daughters in

marriage : and Paul himself, in one of his epistles, does not hesitate to speak of his wife, whom he did not carry about with him, on account of the giving a greater attention to his ministry. For, he says, have I not liberty to carry about with me a sister, a wife, like the other apostles? For they, in order to their ministry, carried with them their wives, not as wives, but as sisters, so that they might be assistants in their work, by entering into the women's apartments, and introducing the doctrine of the Lord without giving rise to any scandal. And we know that these female ministers are mentioned by the excellent Paul in his other Epistle to Timothy. . . 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink,' neither is it abstinence from wine and meat, but it is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. Which of the apostles would now imitate the austerities of the prophets? What true Gnostic would even follow the example of John in this respect?"

C. 7. "The continence which the Greeks teach, is the warring against unruly desires; but according to us it is such an habitual self-command that no unruly desire is felt: but this self-command is only to be attained by the grace of

God. . . . As it is better to be in health, than, being sick, to talk about getting well ;—and to be in the light, than to discuss its powers ; so is true continence better than that which the philosophers teach : for where even one desire has seated itself, yea, though it should never be wrought out into bodily action, the memory is busy with the absent object. Upon the whole, then, the discussion respecting marriage, food, and other things of the same kind, proceeds upon this ground : that what is requisite shall be done, not as the result of desire, but as a part of the human œconomy : for we are not the children of bodily instinct, but of the will : and he who marries for the sake of the comforts of a family, should exercise a proper continence, and treat his wife, whom he is bound to love, with a modest and virtuous respect. . . . But we are not to imagine that continence relates to one thing only, i. e. the licentiousness of unchastity ; for it has relation to all other things which are coveted by a luxurious soul, which, not content with what is necessary, seeks for indulgence. Continence is the contempt of money : continence is the despising of pleasures, and possessions, and spectacles ; it is the ruling the mouth, and mastering what is evil, by means of

reason. . . . But those who, through hatred of the flesh, avoid the commerce of matrimony, and the participation of proper food, are untaught and atheistic: such continence is folly, and resembles that practised by the heathens; as the Brachmans, who neither touch wine or any flesh: or those of the Gymnosophists who are called venerable, who wholly abstain from marriage. . . . The conclusion is, therefore, that he does not sin who enters into marriage according to reason, and the Divine ordinance (*κατὰ λόγον*), if he do not find the bringing up of children a difficulty: for many feel grieved at being childless and many cannot bear to live alone, and desire marriage on that account, and no one is to be blamed for doing what is pleasing to himself, in moderation, and temperately, therefore any one of us is at liberty to enter upon married life or not, as he thinks fit."

C. 12. "But whatever may be the kind of life chosen, whether to live in single chastity, or, uniting in marriage, to bring up a family, it is proper to live wisely according to our determination, and not to neglect the duties arising from it for there are duties pertaining to both. . . . But some one will say, 'he that is single cares for the Lord, but he who is mar-

ried thinks how he shall please his wife.' What then? Is it not in his power while pleasing his wife according to God's ordinance, to give thanks to Him? and is it not possible for the husband and wife together to care for the Lord? And as she who is not married is solicitous for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and spirit; so also may the married woman be solicitous to please both her husband and the Lord, in the Lord. Both are holy, both she who is married and she who remains single."

BOOK IV.

THE writer begins this book by a review of what he had already written, in which it was his object, he says, to show that "philosophy," such philosophy at least as he himself had learned and loved, "ought to be cultivated by all, whether slave or free, man or woman." He next professes it to be his intention to treat of the Gnostic physiology, as he quaintly terms it: namely, to draw the character of a Christian thoroughly trained, and, as he adds,—borrowing the phrase from the heathen mysteries,—completely initiated.

C. 3. "It is of the Gnostic that the phrase, 'Thou hast made him a little short of the angels,' is to be understood: less in time that is, and inferior in the clothing of his spirit, but equal in immortal life. . . . As all truth is but the reflection of the truth that is in God, so the Gnostic loves truth . . . and bears cheerfully the dissolution of the bond between soul and body, 'for,' says he, 'I am crucified to the world, and the world to me, and even whilst in the flesh, I have lived a citizen of heaven.'"

C. 4. "He, therefore, who is properly termed a Gnostic, readily submits when the sacrifice of his body is called for; not using any insulting language towards the magistrate who tempts him to abandon his faith, but, as I think, teaching, and even arguing with him.

"How great the glory, and how long the joy,"

as Empedocles says, of those who leave this mortal life. This man has the testimony of his own heart that he is in Gnostic faith towards God, and shows the tempter that it is vain to strive against the faith of love. The fear of death cannot tempt him to apostatize from the inward obedience which he practises towards the teaching of his Lord, but by his conduct he con-

firms the truth of his preaching, showing forth thus the power of that God to whom he is hastening. Thou mayest have seen and wondered at his love, which he thus openly shows, being united in grateful affection to him who once bore his nature, and by virtue of that honoured blood viewing without horror even the unbelievers who seek his life.* He has refused to deny Christ through the fear of breaking his command, and this fear is in him a witness to the truth. Neither will he sell his faith through the hope of offered gifts, but in his unbounded love to his Lord he quits life with satisfaction; grateful to Him who has offered him the means of his exodus from this world, grateful to all those who have conspired against him; and have thus afforded him an honest occasion, though unsought, of showing himself as he is: to them by his patience, to the Lord by his love; by which indeed he was already known to Him, who before his birth even saw what his choice would be. Boldly then he comes to his friend, the Lord, for whom he has willingly offered his body,—and to speak poetically—is by our Sa-

* This passage has necessarily been paraphrased; the words literally translated would be scarcely understood.

viour received with the appellation of 'dear brother,'—on account of the similitude of their lives. For we call martyrdom the perfect imitation and finish; not that man then finishes his life, as the heathens fancy, but because it shows the finished work of love... And if confession of our belief in God be martyrdom* (*μαρτυρία*) every one possessing the knowledge of God, and leading a pure life in obedience to his commands, is a martyr,—i. e. a witness—in life and in word, whatever may be the mode in which he is set loose from the body; as says the Lord in the gospel, 'Whoever has left father and mother and brethren,' and all the ties consequent upon these, 'on account of the gospel and of my name, is blessed:—not signifying hereby simple martyrdom, but that perfect† testimony which is given by a life regulated according to the canon of the gospel, through love for the Lord... We say farther, that those who throw themselves in the way of death,—for there are some who belong to us only in name, who hasten miserably to throw away their lives in hatred

* A martyr is in strictness a witness in a court of law.

† *γνωσικὴν*.

to their Creator,*—these we say destroy themselves, but are not martyrs, even though they should undergo a public punishment: for they have not preserved the character of witnesses to the faith; not knowing the true God, but throwing away their lives vainly, like the Gymnosophists of India."

C. 5. ... "Some things are to be chosen, not on their own account, but for the sake of the body; for the body requires care on account of the soul, to which it is related. He who would lead a gnostic life, therefore, must learn which of these things are fit and proper, for that all pleasures are not good, is clear: since we know the fact to be, that some are sheerly evil ... and thus pain is not to all an evil; for on some occasions we choose, though at others we avoid it. The choice and the avoidance, then, are made in consequence of a sound knowledge of the circumstances and their consequences: and it follows that the science which enables us to choose wisely, is the main good; not the pleasure itself, which is only sometimes chosen. Thus the

* The heresy of Valentinus, afterwards called the Gnostic, asserted that the Δημιουργός or Creator of the world was an inferior and evil Being, or principle.

martyr chooses the pleasure he obtains through hope, and sets it against present pain."

C. 6. "I am of opinion too, that the gnostic life requires that we should not come to the saving Word through fear of punishment, or even through hope of the gifts promised in the gospel, but on account of its intrinsic excellence The Saviour refers all things to the discipline of the soul, as when he said that the widow who brought her all to the treasury, though it was trifling in amount, gave more than the rich who offered only of their superfluity 'Blessed are the meek,' says he; that is, those who have triumphed in the battle carried on by unbelief in the soul, and have subdued anger and all the other passions which follow upon it,* i.e. unbelief: for the meek whom he praises are those who are so by choice, not by any necessity of nature 'Blessed are those that weep' but there are two kinds of repentance: for one

* Modern Christians might perhaps profit by seriously reflecting that the good Clement considers anger and other transgressions consequent on indulged passion, as a consequence of *unbelief*. In fact, does a man ever pursue any course which he thoroughly believes will end in certain evil and suffering?—Those who give way to their passions then, *do not believe the gospel*.

kind, and this is the commonest, results from fear of the consequences of evil deeds : the other, much more valuable, originates in the horror we feel at seeing our souls unworthily stained with sin ; but yet God, who is never weary of benevolence, will accept either ‘ Blessed are the compassionate’ but compassion is not, as some of the philosophers take it, a mere grief for the sufferings of others for those indeed are compassionate who *act* kindly : but yet those also, who wish so to act, but are disabled from so doing by poverty, sickness, or age, are also to be considered as compassionate ; for their will is the same, and it is only the means that are wanting ‘ Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God’ . . . and if we consider this truly, we shall perceive that knowledge is the guide in the purifying of the soul, and is the giver of energy for good actions ; for many things are good or evil according to circumstances. He wills therefore that those who come to God should be pure from unruly corporeal desires, and holy in their contemplations, so that nothing debasing may adhere to what should be the leading power in man, i. e. the soul. The Gnostic, therefore, accustoms himself to such contemplation ; conversing with God

in all purity, until he is habitually so free from passion, and so assimilated to the Deity, that he may rather be characterized as being himself science and knowledge, than as merely possessing them." Other virtues are treated of by Clement in the same spirit, showing that motives rather than actions, should draw the attention of the Christian; but want of space forbids the going through the whole. He thus concludes his character of the Gnostic Christian.

C. 7. "Plato describes the just man as happy notwithstanding the severest torments:—the Gnostic, too, has fixed his aim (τέλος), beyond this life, in the being happy and blessed for ever, the regal friend of God. Hence dishonour, exile, proscription, or yet more,—death,—cannot tear from him that free and overpowering love towards God which bears all things, and is patient under all things, because it believes all things to be administered by the Divine prescience ... The first grade, therefore, is that instruction through fear, by means of which we abstain from unjust actions; the second is, hope, by which we follow after what is good;—and love completes the course of Gnostic instruction ... Thus armed, the Gnostic exclaims, 'O Lord, give the occasion, and accept the manifes-

tation of my love! Let it be severe, for I can despise dangers through love towards Thee.' ”

C. 8. “It is in the power of him who lives according to our institution, to philosophize without letters, whether he be barbarian, or greek, or slave, or old man, or child, or woman; for temperance and self command are duties common to all who embrace it; for one and the same virtue belongs to one and the same nature: and there is not one human nature for the woman and another for the man, but it is alike in both; since if it belonged only to the male to be just, and moderate, and whatever else is consequent on this character,* then would the woman rightly be unjust and intemperate; a thing not allowable to be thought, even: moderation and justice, and all the other virtues, therefore, are alike in the man and the woman, the slave and the free ... Not that we affirm the female to be the same as the male, as far as sex goes ... for

* It was made a question by Aristoteles whether women possessed the capability of virtue: and it was the very common persuasion of the heathen that their nature was inferior to that of the man. Clement, therefore, sets himself to combat this most pernicious error, and to show that the soul is of no sex, and that male and female are alike before God. See Gal. iii. 28.

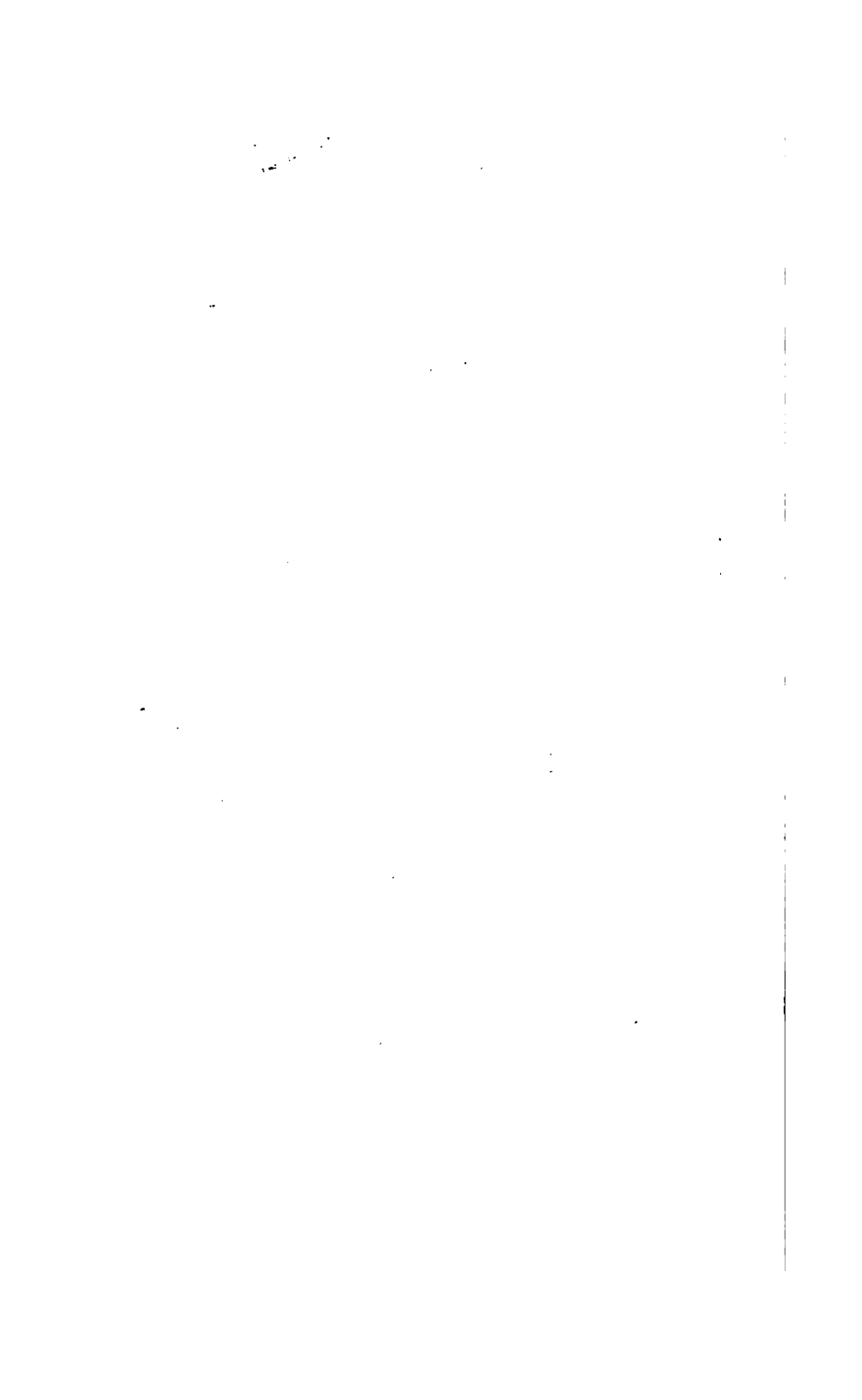
the bearing of children is the part of the woman, as the female; not as man, taken generically: but in those things which belong to the soul, man is alike, whether male or female; and both sexes are intended to arrive at the same virtue. ... As therefore we consider that the man ought to be temperate, and above sensual pleasures; so we also hold that the woman should be temperate, and unsensual ... Wherefore, even against opposition and impending punishment from the husband or the master, both the slave and the woman will philosophize: for he is free over whom the tyrant death is powerless, and who cannot be deterred by the fear of worldly ills from the worship of God ... and if it be good and praiseworthy in the man to die for the sake of virtue, of freedom, and of his own soul, so also is it in the woman;—for this is the part, not of the male sex merely, but of the good generally.

C. 22. "The Gnostic is clear-sighted and intelligent, and his virtue consists in the performance of specific good actions, not in the mere abstinence from evil ones ... nor even in the doing good ones through fear ... nor for the hope of promised honour ... The Gnostic does good out of love, and chooses what is right be-

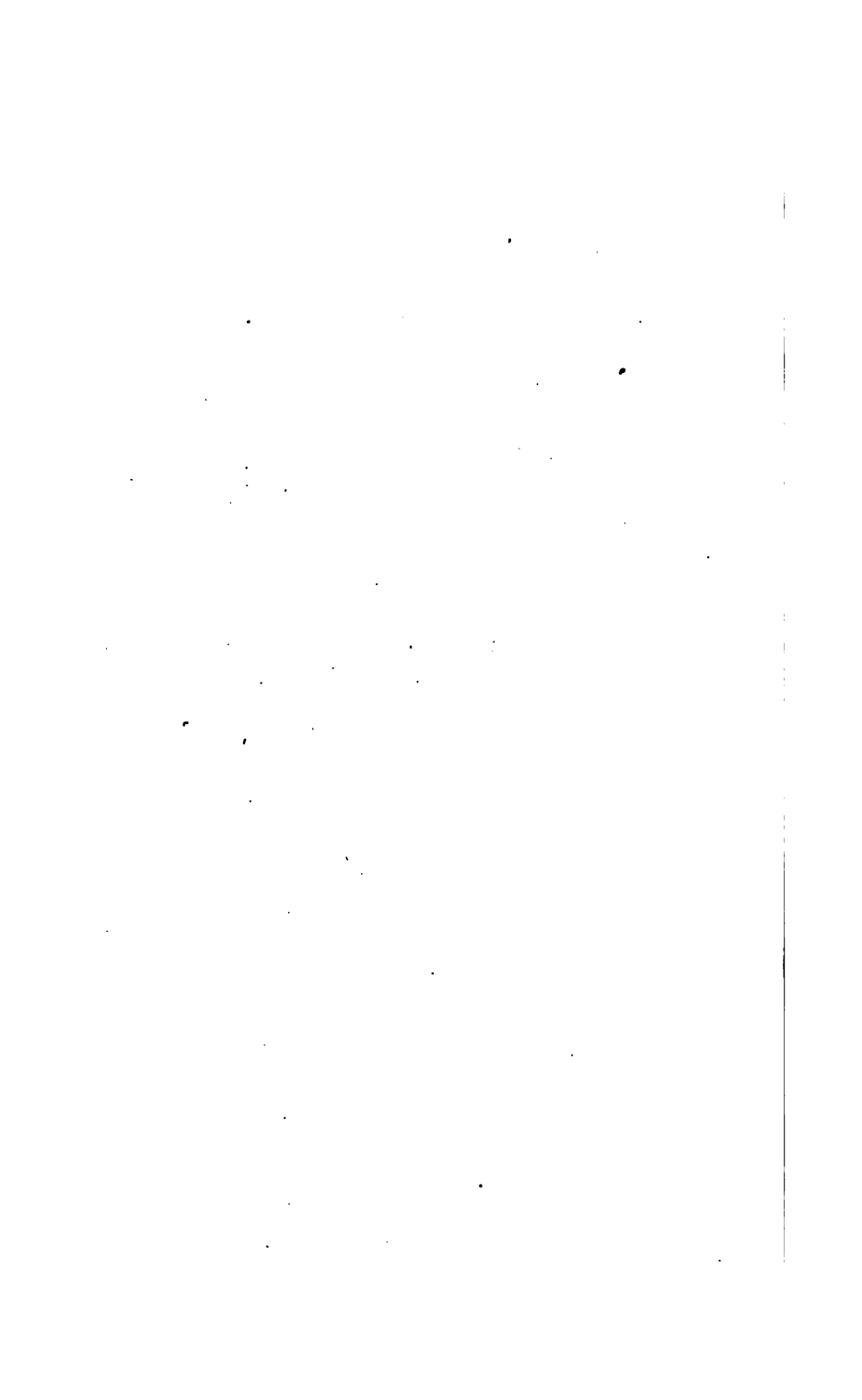
cause it is fair in his eyes ... and if it were possible that eternal salvation could be separated from the knowledge of God, and he had the choice of one or the other given him, he would choose the latter in preference to the former."

C. 26. "Those are not to be praised who inveigh against the creature, and condemn the body as bad; not seeing that the constitution of man is such as to fit him for the contemplation of heaven; that the very organs of sense tend towards knowledge; and that all his parts and limbs are fitted for the pursuit of what is fair and good, not of sensual pleasure. Hence the highly honoured soul of man has been chosen by God as his habitation, and he has been thought worthy of the Holy Spirit's sanctification, both of body and soul; being perfected by the restoration * effected by the Saviour."

* *καταρτισμῶς*. This word implies a restoration like that of a dislocated joint, which by being replaced in its socket, moves again at the command of the soul.







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